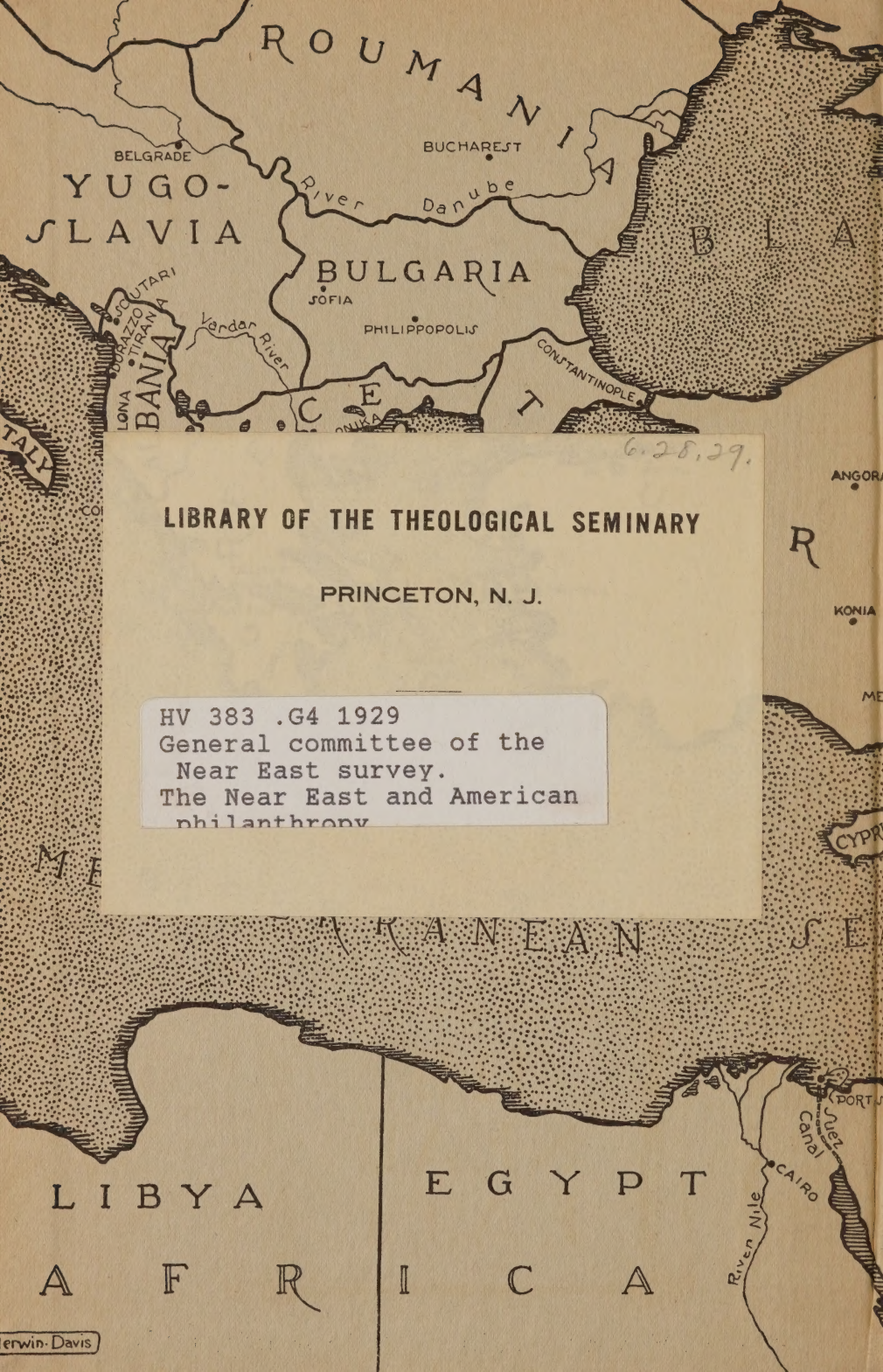

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HAMA
HOMS
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JUBEIL
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ANTILYAS
BEIRUT
DAMASCUS
HAMADAN
Euphrates River
Tigris River
BAGHDAD
SIDON
Sea of Galilee
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THE NEAR EAST
AND
AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY

A SURVEY

Conducted under the Guidance of

THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE NEAR EAST SURVEY

BY

FRANK A. ROSS C. LUTHER FRY

ELBRIDGE SIBLEY

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TO THE AMERICAN WORKERS

IN THE NEAR EAST

PREFACE

The present survey represents a scientific approach to problems of American philanthropy in the Near East. It was undertaken on the assumption that programs and policies can only be developed intelligently in the light of all the pertinent facts—a matter-of-fact procedure that is a commonplace in business and industry but has been little utilized in planning the work of social agencies.

From the outset, the purpose of the undertaking has been intensely practical. The survey grew out of the very real necessity for deciding upon Near East Relief policies and programs. As early as 1925 it became apparent that in a few years Near East Relief would have completed its great task of caring for the tens of thousands of Levantine children made orphans by the Great War. Leaders in that organization naturally raised the question, "After that job is finished, then what?" Should Near East Relief go out of existence entirely? If so, what should be done with its plants and other assets? If, on the other hand, it seemed wise to "carry on," what form of program should be developed? Are the needs and opportunities in the Near East of a character to warrant a continuing program?

A number of years ago a survey of Constantinople was instituted by the representatives of American agencies carrying on philanthropic endeavors in that city. Need was felt for a more complete and thorough understanding of the problems of American educational, medical and social organizations. After that study was completed, certain agencies attempted to extend the idea to other localities.

Even before this early survey, Near East Relief, at the instigation of its Director-General, Mr. Barclay Acheson, called experts from America to look over its work and to advise on policies. About 1924 it brought Mr. George F. Wilcox to the area to make an intensive study of the educational systems and to coördinate the educational work of Near East Relief with the needs within the countries. Later it was felt that a general survey of social and economic conditions in the area was essential to careful planning for the final stages of Near East Relief endeavor.

To this end Near East Relief appointed, in 1925, a survey committee which undertook first-hand studies, but it soon became apparent that the issues involved vitally concerned the other American agencies at work in the area. For this reason the original survey

committee was expanded to include representatives of the other agencies operating in the Near East. In its enlarged form the survey committee consisted of the following persons:

ORIGINAL SURVEY COMMITTEE [1]

Dr. Otis W. Caldwell, *Chairman*
Dr. Paul Monroe, *Vice-Chairman*
Rev. George Stewart, *Secretary*
Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones
Dr. Stephen P. Duggan
Mr. Cleveland E. Dodge
Dr. John H. Finley
Dr. R. R. Reeder
Bishop James Cannon, Jr.
Dr. John R. Mott
Dr. James I. Vance

ADDED REPRESENTATIVES APPOINTED BY ORGANIZATIONS

Organization	*Representative*
American University of Beirut Constantinople Woman's College Robert College	Mr. Albert W. Staub
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions International College of Smyrna Sofia American Schools	Rev. Ernest W. Riggs
The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.	Dr. Robert E. Speer
American College, Salonica	Dr. James L. Barton
Thessalonica Agricultural and Industrial Institute	Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones
Young Men's Christian Association	Dr. Dri A. Davis
Young Women's Christian Association	Miss Katherine Olcott [2]
Near East Relief	Mr. Charles V. Vickrey

In order to develop the plans and methods of the survey the general committee appointed an executive committee composed of specialists not connected in an executive capacity with any of the Near East agencies. This arrangement was adopted because it was felt that it

1 These are the original members of the survey committee as appointed by the Executive Committee of Near East Relief, March 27, 1925.
2 Original appointee was Mrs. James Stewart Cushman, who resigned in November, 1927, because of ill health.

would insure the impartiality of the survey's results. The members of the executive committee were:

Dr. Otis W. Caldwell, *Chairman*
Dr. Paul Monroe, *Vice-Chairman*
Rev. George Stewart, *Secretary*
Dr. Stephen P. Duggan
Mr. Cleveland E. Dodge
Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones

The plan of the present survey, prepared by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones and adopted by the executive committee at its meeting of March 17, 1926, grouped the purposes of the survey under two main heads:

(1) To study the economic and sociological backgrounds of the Near East countries.
(2) To study the educational activities maintained by the countries of the Near East and by foreign agencies.

It was felt that this information was essential as a basis for making recommendations relating to policies for Near East Relief and for general educational activities in the Near East.

"Religion" and "religious education" were definitely omitted from the field to be covered, since their inclusion would have prevented any survey of Armenia or Turkey.

To carry on the actual survey work in the field, the executive committee secured the services of three investigators. They were: Dr. Frank A. Ross, of Columbia University; Dr. C. Luther Fry, of the Institute of Social and Religious Research; and Mr. Elbridge Sibley, also of Columbia University.

The expenses of these surveyors, as well as all other expenses of the survey, were paid by Near East Relief, but the plans and methods pursued were solely in the hands of the executive committee of the survey.

Much preliminary work was done in the United States before the departure of the surveyors on June 5, 1926. Several months were spent in the field in an intensive attempt to gather material about the eight countries surveyed. There had been set up in certain countries committees drawn from the workers in the various American agencies. These rendered inestimable service to the fact-gatherers. The most conspicuous instances were the committees for Syria and for Turkey. The general area was divided into sub-areas and each was the special responsibility of one of the surveyors. Thus the Caucasus was investigated by Dr. Ross, the Balkan-Turkish area by Dr. Fry, and the Arabian area by Mr. Sibley.

About the first of October, before the period of fact-gathering was ended, a delegation from the general survey committee in the United States, consisting of Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Dr. James H. Dillard, of the Jeanes and Slater Fund, traversed the area, visiting a major part of the countries surveyed.

A conference was held at Beirut, where these two and the three surveyors met with leading members of the field staffs of certain of the important American agencies to discuss the progress of the work. This was the culmination of conferences held at various points with those in most intimate contact with problems of the area. The data-gathering portion of the survey ended about November first.

At a meeting of the general survey committee in May, 1927, factual reports and summaries of needs, which had been prepared by the surveyors, were received by the committee.

Pursuant to plan, the entire report was forwarded to an Overseas Advisory Committee convened at Constantinople on May 17, 1927. This committee, which met continuously from then till May 26, was constituted as follows:

Mr. Barclay Acheson, Near East Relief, Constantinople
Dr. Kathryn Adams, Constantinople Woman's College
Mr. Harry T. Baker, Young Men's Christian Association, Constantinople
Mr. Joseph W. Beach, Near East Relief, Caucasus Area
Dr. Floyd H. Black, American Schools, Sofia
Mr. Edward W. Blatchford, Near East Relief, Beirut
Dr. Bayard Dodge, American University, Beirut
Rev. Luther Fowle, American Board Mission, Constantinople
Dr. Russell Galt, American University, Cairo
Dr. Charles L. House, Thessalonica Institute of Agriculture, Salonica
Mr. Herbert P. Lansdale, Jr., Young Men's Christian Association in Greece (alternate for Mr. U. L. Amoss)
Dr. James H. Nicol, Presbyterian Mission, Beirut
Dr. Cass A. Reed, International College, Smyrna
Prof. Lynn A. Scipio, Robert College, Constantinople
Miss Ruth F. Woodsmall, Young Women's Christian Association, Constantinople.

The reports were carefully scrutinized by those familiar with the situation and work in the several countries. Many alterations and corrections were suggested and additional information was submitted. Resolutions were adopted expressing the views of the field-workers on methods for meeting the needs discovered through the survey. An ample report was returned to the general survey committee in the United States for its consideration.[3]

3 See Appendix B, a summary of the findings presented by President Bayard Dodge, Chairman of the Constantinople Conference.

The surveyors revised the reports in the light of the suggestions submitted by the Constantinople Conference and these revisions were submitted to the general survey committee. At a final meeting of this committee, a general program of procedure [4] was adopted after reports on particular aspects [5] of this plan had been submitted.

In the pages which follow are to be found a general discussion of the whole of the Near East; the conclusions reached by the survey group regarding the three general areas studied; and digests of the factual data from which those conclusions were drawn. Finally, there are included as appendices a special analysis of the agricultural situation in the Near East, by Prof. O. S. Morgan; a summary of the findings of the Constantinople Conference, presented before the general survey committee in New York by President Bayard Dodge; recommendations as to federation of American enterprises in the area; proposals for development of new lines of effort; and formal action of the general survey committee.

The general portion is a joint product of the three surveyors sent to gather the factual data. Each has contributed the pages which deal with his particular area, yet each has played his part as critic, censor and editor in the entire work.

It should be borne in mind that the fact-gathering was terminated before the fall of 1927. It was realized at the start of the survey that conditions change rapidly in as chaotic a region as the Near East and every attempt has been made to treat only such subjects as are fundamental and enduring. While some of the statistical sources apply to an earlier date the pictures they portray are now and for years to come will be approximately as painted.

Great praise is due those workers in the Near East who so unstintingly gave of their time and energy to the field stages of the survey and to the later review of the reports.

The survey would never have been conceived or carried out without the vision, the loyalty, and the insight of President Bayard Dodge, of the American University of Beirut, and Mr. Barclay Acheson, of Near East Relief.

Much preliminary work had been done before the survey party came to the Near East, particularly in the fields of social conditions, by Miss Ruth Woodsmall, of the Constantinople Young Women's Christian Association; of education, by Mr. George F. Wilcox, of Near East Relief; and of agriculture, by Prof. O. S. Morgan, of Columbia University. At every turn representatives of American agencies gave cordial help, through facilitating visits to important centers and by arranging contacts with key persons. Great service was rendered by Mr. Lynn A. Scipio, of Robert College, by Mr. Luther Fowle, of the

[4] See Appendix E.
[5] See Appendices C and D.

American Board of Foreign Missions, and by Mr. Edward W. Blatchford, of Near East Relief. A full list of those who have made material contribution to the work would be long indeed and we can but express, in most general terms, our appreciation. Finally, there is a large debt to the members of the Constantinople Conference for their constructive and thorough criticism of the work.

Frank A. Ross
C. Luther Fry

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INTRODUCTION

By John H. Finley

Wherever the cradle of the human race may be found by the scientists to have been, we shall continue to look back to the Near East as the early homestead of our western civilization. The lands that lie around the farther shores of the Mediterranean Sea, the peninsulas that thrust themselves out into it and the islands that are embraced by it should ever be dear to us because in that part of the world, which was once "the middle of the earth," there stands the cradle of our faith, whether Jew or Gentile; there was the school in which the race began to learn its alphabet (and till writing came, to hand on the wisdom which man had accumulated out of his experience and observation, "no amount of skill in bronze or iron could win civilization"). Thence, too, came the moral teaching that became the foundation of our social structure and our laws, and thence came the firstfruits of the highest culture that man has known. All of which suggests the debt we owe the Near East—a debt so great that money can never liquidate it, a debt whose grateful acknowledgment and partial payment should carry no imputation of charity.

The filial recognition of that debt cannot show itself to those who long ago, when the civilized world was much smaller and had not yet ventured beyond the Pillars of Hercules, put us under that obligation, but it may in some measure be met by giving those who have remained in the old home some benefit of what those have learned and achieved who have gone forth into the world. What they have already done in showing their gratitude and sympathy is one of the most beautiful and inspiriting stories in all history. When one puts this international beneficence against the background of the post-war treatment of Canaanites by the Israelitish conquerors, or even against that of one Balkan people by another only a thousand years ago, it is an even more shining illustration of the progress that has been made in man's humanity to man. At Hazor, in 1450 B.C., Joshua left "not any to breathe." And in the year A.D. 1014 the Emperor Basil II caused all of the 15,000 Bulgar captives to be blinded, dividing them into hundreds, and giving each hundred, as a guide back over the mountains to their homes, a man in hideous mockery deprived of only one eye. It is said that when this "ghastly procession" approached their home capital, the king sank in a stupor at the sight as if struck by

a bolt and died without recovering consciousness. By contrast, the American Red Cross alone spent $2,000,000 in ministering to the civil population of the land of Hazor, during and after the War, and in the capital of the Bulgars today their late enemy has built a college —giving light instead of darkness.

The American Relief Administration (whose initials put a new and cherished word, ARA, into the vocabulary of many countries) extended its helping hand across the borders of the Near East. But before this, though under another name, came the Near East Relief, and it has remained through all these years till now. The annual report, which is presented on the very day of this writing to Congress, states that during the past thirteen years the Near East Relief has saved more than 1,000,000 lives and educated 136,000 children. During famine periods 12,500,000 persons have been fed and 6,000,000 have received medical aid. What Andromache said of Hector in the *Iliad* might have been said of the Near East Relief:

> Yet while my Hector still survives, I see
> My father, mother, brethren, all, in thee

for the Near East Relief has been all these to tens of thousands of orphans. When in Greece, after the withdrawal of the ARA and the American Red Cross, I was asked by the Premier whether the Near East Relief was going to withdraw also. He added that if we did they would jump into the sea (Thalassa, Thalassa), meaning that they would be without hope.

The completion of the fund in June should leave enough in hand to place out in homes all the children still in the care of Near East Relief, or provide for them in the care of others till they can be so placed. So will end a chapter for which neither the ancient epics or tragedies of the Near East, nor the fabulous tales of the Arabian Nights furnish precedents of suffering and beneficence.

While new emergencies will no doubt arise in addition to the three tasks of an emergency nature mentioned in the first chapter that are still unfinished—at the moment of writing this foreword the floods have wrought great havoc in Macedonia and Thrace, where the work of rehabilitation has been going forward so promisingly—this report makes the virtual completion of the tragic chapter of massacre and exile, brightened only by deeds of mercy done on such vast scale as the world had never known before. But it marks the beginning of a new chapter—one of constructive helpfulness through education to those who sit in the ancestral house of Christendom that new woes may be prevented.

The picture of conditions widely prevalent from Albania to 'Iraq is a dark one to western eyes. Many things that are deemed essential

to our general welfare are wanting. Particularly "drab" and hopeless seem the lives of women and children, whose health and happiness and whose education are a prime concern in our western civilization. The educational institutions, universities and schools, established in several centers, are doing much not only to train leaders and equip them with skill in medicine and other sciences, but also to set before whole peoples and especially the youth the ideals which are lifted before our own children.

To say more, would be but to anticipate what is presented in admirable summary in the first chapter and in greater detail later. These peoples must work out their own salvation. But what we can do is to let them have, so far as it is transmissible, the benefit of the experience which those have had who have gone on westward from Ararat in the Caucasus and Ur of the Chaldees and Bethlehem in Judea and the glorious monuments of Greece. It is contended by an eminent modern biologist that man has made no progress in his physical equipment in ten thousand years and that no one has surpassed in intellectual capacity certain individuals of two thousand years ago, back in the Near East. Our contribution is to try to lift the many toward the heights of the few, and so to help pay our great debt to those Near East lands which gave to all the world the surpassing few.

CHAPTER I

THE NEAR EAST

Along the eastern and southern reaches of Europe lies an area which has long proved itself of supreme importance to civilization. It has given us our philosophy, our art, our religions. On the other hand, from it has sprung a war which rocked civilization to its foundations.

Today the Near East has a place in the mind of America unlike that of any other section of the world. Our interest is keen, yet most of us are still wanting in real knowledge of the current situation in the area. The present volume is designed to present to the American public a picture of recent conditions there—a picture authentic, unemotional and accurate.

The term "Near East" is vague, the territory ill-defined. In general it may be said to be bounded by Italy and the Adriatic Sea on the west; by the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea on the south; by Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Turkestan on the east; and by the Caucasus mountains, the Black Sea, the Ukraine, Poland, Hungary and Austria on the north. Of the many political units in the entire area, eight were selected for study as typifying the whole. These were Albania, Armenia, Bulgaria, Greece, 'Iraq, Palestine, Syria, and Turkey.

Nowhere in the world is there an area of its size in which the ethnic, political, religious and cultural situations are more complex.

The eight countries included in this study yield a whole series of combinations of race, language, culture, politics and religion.

Albania, at the time of the survey a republic and more recently a monarchy under definite Italian influence, is predominantly Mohammedan in religion and in culture almost medieval. Armenia, as an independent Socialistic Soviet Republic, is nominally atheistic, but actually Gregorian in religious adherence, and is generally Armenian in race. Bulgaria, a constitutional monarchy, is ethnically Slavonic and of the Greek Orthodox faith. Greece, the ancient mother of western culture, is also Greek Orthodox in religion and nominally a republic. 'Iraq, in theory an independent monarchy, but actually under the protection of England, is Mohammedan and Arabic-speaking. Palestine, a British mandate, though the birthplace of Chris-

tianity, is Mohammedan and Jewish in religion, Arabic and Hebraic in culture. Syria, a French mandate, is predominantly Mohammedan and of Arab culture. Turkey, a republic in name but a dictatorship in fact, is Mohammedan in religion and today mainly Turkish in race but determined to westernize itself in culture.

With all their differences, however, the various parts of the Near East have two unhappy characteristics in common: All are poverty-stricken, and in each, vast masses of the population are greatly retarded. Needs that are often little understood by the people that suffer them, force themselves on the attention of even the most casual visitor. These countries, lying at the very doorstep of modern western civilization, constitute an even graver menace to that civilization today than they have in centuries past. Their needs not only appeal to American altruism but should appeal to hard-headed self-interest.

Probably the most important service that could be rendered to these lands is the forwarding of their economic rehabilitation. In centuries past elaborate civilizations were built up by their prosperous agriculture and industries; but with the passage of the years these have fallen to a low estate, and in the face of modern machine civilization they are steadily losing ground.

Health conditions in the region are deplorable. Certain agencies are attempting remedial work, but this can be only palliative at the best until the great masses of the population have been taught some of the principles of living that modern science has shown to be necessary for healthy life. Indeed, the economic productivity of these populations cannot be greatly augmented until several widely prevalent diseases, that reduce the efficiency of the individual while still permitting him to live, are under control. Mere hospital care or institutional treatment does not offer a complete solution.

In the past several years huge sums of money have been expended in this region for emergency relief, and "emergency needs" will probably continue to exist until the millennium of economic independence shall have arrived for the entire population. America should not hold itself responsible for the expenditure of further millions through years to come for this emergency type of work. Such efforts as American philanthropy chooses to make should rather be in the direction of diminishing the probability of these "emergency needs" arising. Nevertheless, three tasks of the emergency type remain unfinished and should be completed:

1. The bringing to economic and social maturity the orphans who are still charges in Near East Relief orphanages.
2. The settlement somewhere of the remnant of transplanted population remaining in 'Iraq, Syria, Greece, Turkey, Persia and Armenia.

3. Some provision for the Armenians resident outside of Armenia as minorities in populations often keenly antagonistic.[1]

In the Mohammedan Near East one is struck with the almost total lack of everything which in western lands raises the lives of women and of children above a mere drab existence. The whole social order is shaped to promote the ease and comfort of the men. The coffee-houses are filled with adult males while the fields are tilled by women and children. There is virtually nothing to enrich woman's life. She and her children have an inefficient place in the economic system and a lowly one in the social. It is true that in some sections woman's lot is legally improved, but the mechanism for actually changing her status is almost entirely undeveloped.

Throughout the entire area frightful ignorance prevails as to the bearing and rearing of children. Extremely high rates of infant mortality prevail, mainly on account of the crass ignorance of mothers. Congenital malformations are visible on every hand, as are the physical evidences of the non-fatal diseases of early childhood. Economic rehabilitation cannot proceed far until woman has progressed and physical and mental efficiency have been assured.

Organized recreation, as America understands the term, is almost unknown in the Near East. The nearest approaches to it, observed outside the Caucasus and Bulgaria during this survey, were the cheap cinemas, the garish cabarets and dance-halls, and the overpopulated coffee-houses. That the populations of the Near East would enjoy and utilize a more elaborate and more wholesome system of recreation is evidenced by the prevalence and popularity in the Caucasus of clubs, reading-rooms, public games, social gatherings, and educational tours developed under the Soviet régime. Limited experiments in Turkey and Bulgaria substantiate the belief that the rest of the Near East would respond likewise.

A final need that seems everywhere apparent is the development of a social, as contrasted with the existing individualistic, point of view. One constantly hears of the "new nationalism" so widespread in the area, and probably in the long run patriotism will yield good results to humanity. At present, however, it is frequently a mere expression of individualism; and the nationalistic movements quite obviously contain the germs of possible new wars. American philanthropy should not work to the destruction of nationalism, but it should direct its efforts to an appreciation of the value of social relationships, personal and national—to the development, in fact, of the genuine social consciousness.

[1] The Armenian populations of this area have been trained to consider the United States as foster-mother, yet they seem destined to have practically no American institution vitally interested in their future. The Assyrian population of 'Iraq is now the special charge of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

America has long been supporting efforts to supply these needs, and numerous institutions of American origin and conducted by American personnel with American funds have been trying to meet Near-eastern problems either by direct attack or by education.

It is not necessary to discuss here the splendid work being done by the American universities and junior colleges. They have filled a great need in the Near East and are eagerly and sincerely preparing to adapt themselves more closely to the changed conditions in the several countries that they serve. There is no need for new institutions in this field of endeavor. The vital need is adequate support for existing institutions and a careful revision of program to adapt present curricula to situations greatly altered in the last few years.

Other institutions are doing splendid work. It is not possible here to do more than illustrate their service. The Y. M. C. A. in Greece, under the able leadership of Mr. U. L. Amoss, carries on an excellent undertaking among a large class of the population in the two great urban centers, Salonica and Athens. The Y. W. C. A. in Constantinople, under Miss Ruth Woodsmall, is doing fine work in helping Turkish women to understand the possibilities and responsibilities of their new and freer status. The medical aid carried to the populations in and near Adana by the American Board hospital and clinic there is an example to the Turkish medical profession. Many other agencies could be cited in the fields of education, health and social welfare. Their omission from this discussion is not due to lack of appreciation of the great value of the work done.

The hospitals, schools and other institutions should revise their programs and coördinate themselves more closely with public-health, educational and social needs in the lands in which they function. All are badly handicapped by lack of funds. All could profit by closer coöperation with similar institutions elsewhere in the general area and with local official and semi-public agencies. All need expert advice in their adaptations.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

Unfortunately, however, the general area is by no means completely covered nor are the population groups completely served. A glance at the map shows that by far the greatest number of American institutions are in urban centers along the travelled lanes, usually on or near sea coasts. The large populations in the hinterland are reached only to a very slight degree. Such students as come to the universities and schools from interior villages seldom return to their homes to bring back the benefits which they as individuals have secured.[2] There is

[2] There are of course notable exceptions.

little or nothing to call them back. By their very training, they are qualified for a fuller life and disqualified for the narrow existence of the small communities. Though they be fired with a desire to serve, the machinery for service is practically non-existent. Nor are all classes in the urban centers reached, for the students in schools and colleges are drawn very largely from what is usually called the upper middle class, or what the socialist calls the bourgeoisie. The need is for boys and girls with the kind of practical education that will equip them for leadership in the small villages in which the vast bulk of the population of the Near East lives, not the kind of education that will cause them to turn their backs upon the people from whom they came.

These groups cannot be reached through the establishment of new foreign institutions. In all the countries departments of education, of health, and of agriculture have been created. All seem anxious to do the greatest possible work for their people. Other semi-public indigenous agencies have sprung up, some very worthy and promising. All are held back by ignorance of "how to do" and by lack of "wherewithal." A movement like the Jeanes and Slater Fund in America, working through native institutions and with native personnel—such personnel as the older American institutions in the Near East develop—could in a short time reach millions of the backward masses.

The solution of the problem is mass education of a simple, direct sort, carried to the people in their fields and in their workshops. It must be an education vital to their lives as tillers or craftsmen. It requires a natural utilization of picked and highly trained *native* personnel. It should adapt to local needs all the methods of mass education which western nations have found useful. It should develop new methods. Its administration should be the ablest America can give; it should have expert advice; it should proceed slowly along thoroughly tested lines after careful paving of the way. Its aims should be the raising of the submerged millions to a more productive and more healthful plane of life, without which its ultimate aim, character-building, cannot be achieved. It should accent "helping to do," rather than "doing for."

Here is the heart of the story told by this report. A new policy is called for, one that, if successfully adopted, may exercise a profound influence upon American missionary enterprise throughout the world. The time for doing things for these Near-eastern peoples is past. Hereafter it should be the task of American agencies in the Near East to help them to do things for themselves.

In the light of the foregoing analysis, the main conclusions of the study may be succinctly stated as follows:

1. American effort in the Near East has been of splendid service in helping in the task of rehabilitating the countries that make up that area.

2. Unfortunately there has been too much tendency to institutionalize and to consider the institution as an outpost of civilization carrying a message to the barbarians.

3. Great need exists for wholesale training of the masses in earning their daily bread, in safeguarding against sickness, in appreciating the values of life.

4. Existing American enterprises should be conceived as demonstrations to stimulate indigenous activity and should be closely allied with general movements within the countries themselves. For Americans to assume the responsibility and expense of a comprehensive system of institutions would be the height of folly, and would frustrate the very end to be sought, namely, encouraging the natives to help themselves.

5. A demonstration is likely to be successful in proportion as those for whose benefit it is intended feel that they are taking an active part in it. Every effort should be made to work not only in coöperation with but actually through the agencies of the governments and through local native organizations or individuals. The large numbers of alumni of American schools form nuclei from which local coöperation should be sought.

6. Rural educational projects should be carefully located with reference to the prospect of engaging local support and always with a special view to convincing the influential classes of natives that such projects are worth while in terms of peace, prosperity and general happiness.

7. While the *existing* institutions, native and foreign, should be utilized to the full, there is serious danger that certain organizations will elect to enter the new field without a knowledge of the costs and difficulties, only to fail dismally. Careful coördination of American efforts in the various countries is a prime necessity.

8. With all the present continuing agencies functioning to the full, there will still be great need for activities along lines which they will not or cannot follow.

In the preceding pages the attempt has been made to summarize the general situation in the Near East, so far as it relates to American philanthropy, and to present the principal conclusions of the survey. These are expanded in more detail in the three sections of this chapter that follow, on the Caucasus, the Balkans, and the Arabian Area, and are substantiated in successive chapters describing conditions in each of the eight countries included in the survey. The actions so far taken as a result of these findings will be found in the Appendices.

THE CAUCASUS

Of all the sections surveyed, the Caucasus is the most remote from America both geographically and socially. Time did not permit extensive study of this whole area, and it was considered advisable to concen-

trate on one of the constituent parts. The Transcaucasian Socialistic Federated Soviet Republic is really a federation of three republics, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia. Of these the Armenian Socialistic Soviet Republic was chosen for intensive investigation, partly because of the traditional interest of America in the Armenian people, but primarily because the extensive work done by the Near East Relief in the Soviet Union has centered in Armenia.

Armenia is but a tiny corner of the Union of Socialistic Soviet Republics, of which it is an integral yet nominally an independent part. Its present area is little more than one-tenth of pre-war Armenia, less than one-fifth of that defined by President Wilson, and about one-half of Czarist Armenia. On this terrain of approximately 12,000 square miles, nearly 1,000,000 people are congregated. The density is approximately 73 per square mile. Eighty-five per cent of the population are Armenians, the remainder being a mixture of ethnic stocks. Eighty per cent are agriculturists settled in small open-country villages. It is thus a fairly homogeneous population, attempting to farm a very thickly settled agricultural territory. When it is realized that much of the land is extremely arid, with relatively little irrigation, and that because of the altitude, the growing seasons are very short, the squalor and poverty that are seen on every hand do not appear surprising. The population has not in the past been prosperous, and war, pestilence and devastation have made a bad situation much worse. In Armenia, even more than elsewhere in the Near East, a primitive mode of life and primitive methods of agriculture combine with climatic and other adverse forces to depress the farmer class. In Czarist Armenia education was never encouraged and ignorance is still intense and widespread.

Armenia, then, is in dire need of some means by which the desperate poverty of the country can be mitigated. This must come by increasing the area of arable land through engineering developments such as irrigation and the draining of marshes—as proposed under the Nansen Scheme—by developing new methods of farming and more productive plant and animal strains, by introducing modern implements, and by educating the benighted peasantry of the scattered villages in practical agriculture. One is appalled by the terrible waste of effort of the Armenian farmers, who toil unceasingly yet receive such meagre return for their labors. Nowhere during the survey was there disclosed a more desperate situation except in refugee camps. A willing Commissariat of Agriculture is faced with a herculean task.

Industry is developing but it is improbable that it can ever play a considerable part in the economic life of the country. The geographic isolation of Armenia cuts it off from outside sources of raw materials. Without the extensive local development of these raw

materials, particularly such as are derived from agriculture, there can be but little for machines to do. Industry must mark time until agriculture has caught its full stride. The mineral resources are not properly exploited and much could be done along this line to secure the raw materials for industry.

With poverty marches disease, and the lack of facilities for coping with its spread is pitiable. Estimates from reliable sources state that 90 to 95 per cent of the population are afflicted with intestinal parasites, approximately one-third have malaria, trachoma is common everywhere, and the epidemic diseases make periodic inroads of considerable severity. The control of these and their virtual elimination are possible, but the solution of the problem lies in convincing the masses that certain precautions must be taken in their individual every-day lives.

The care of the sick is the responsibility of a very few. There is but one physician to 5,000 souls, and about the same proportion of nurses.[3] Most of the physicians and nurses have been trained recently. There is at best but one hospital bed for every 1,000 of population. A strong Health Commissariat is laboring intelligently but under heavy difficulties in its attempt to handle the situation. The hospital facilities are increasing and improving; malaria stations are being developed; campaigns are being projected against trachoma, tuberculosis, venereal diseases and the diseases due to intestinal parasites; and a public health system is planned relying mainly on the girls trained in the Near East Relief orphanage [4] and on young graduates of the Medical School at Erivan. Against malaria all measures must be palliative until marshes are drained, and against intestinal parasites, until the sanitation and water supply of the towns and cities are improved. The authorities are quite aware that their problem is not only medical but also one of engineering.

Life in the cities as well as in the rural sections is arduous and dreary. The long winters of the upland region are extremely hard to endure. Recreation is a serious need in keeping up the morale of the populace. Yet the facilities for recreation, particularly in the rural sections, are limited in spite of the effort of the authorities to develop them.

The leaders of the Republic are thoroughly alive to the needs of the country and are bending every energy toward the solution of the problems, but they are greatly handicapped by lack of funds, lack of trained personnel, and the need for sound technical advice. Popular sentiment, however, seems decidedly with them.

3 In the United States the proportions are one physician to 730 persons and one nurse to 340.

4 The public health nurses in Armenia are all being trained in the Edith Winchester School of the Near East Relief. There is no school for the general public and a new school should be set up or the present one opened to non-orphans.

The primary mode of attack on these outstanding needs is through popular education. The authorities realize this, and are developing education as rapidly as possible. The number of schools is being increased as fast as could be expected. The fundamental aims are: (1) the elimination of illiteracy, (2) sound elementary training, (3) the practical education of the masses in agriculture and industry, (4) political and social literacy to make the masses functioning parts of the new social order, (5) improvement of public health through popular training in sanitation and hygiene, (6) the development of the masses to a point where life is enjoyable rather than merely tolerable, (7) the technical training of particularly well-adapted individuals in special branches. From the standpoint of aims there is little further that western thought has to offer.

Much experimenting is going on in educational methods and content. The authorities are decidedly untrained in practical education and they are overwhelmed with the task of determining what shall be included in curricula and how these shall be used.

There is great dearth of trained teachers. Numbers are being turned out each year but there will not be an adequate supply for many years, and in consequence, there will be insufficient schools. Further, the training received by the teachers that are being turned out is none too good. The Near East Relief school is doing splendid work in developing well-trained new teachers.

While agricultural, industrial, and health training in the schools will be of considerable value, there is great need for supplementary forms of education in the first and last of these fields. The present number of "agronomes" should be considerably increased and they should be adequately trained to put into force agricultural extension and farm demonstration programs. Similarly a highly trained personnel should be developed in the public-health field to carry the message of sane living throughout the country.

The present Near East Relief orphanage work is excellent. It fits well into the education program of the Republic and has contributed to that program. It is also affording specialized training in agriculture, in industrial and clerical pursuits, in public-health nursing, and in recreation leadership.

No greater work in the Near East could be undertaken than that of developing further this splendid agency in the Armenian Republic. If established on a new basis, it should be manned by the best personnel that America can send and should be under the most far-sighted and most understanding direction. A feeling of deep friendship for America already exists in Armenia on account of the help that Americans have extended. To let this friendship die out would mean a great loss to the civilized world and would tend to postpone the reconciliation between the Soviet countries and occidental nations.

The present functions of the Near East Relief should continue until practically all the orphans are brought to maturity. In addition, however, other functions might well be undertaken, such as the following: (1) introducing specialists to coöperate with the government in the formulation and development of its program and the local training of native specialists; (2) encouraging the improvement of such training by scholarships abroad; (3) stimulating the demonstration idea in agriculture and health; and (4) gradually converting the present orphanage into a very high-grade model school, with or without its present specialized courses. It is certain that only through the present organization or a lineal successor can these new functions be developed. Any new organization would meet with insuperable difficulties.

If a semi-permanent program is to be developed it should be based primarily upon the policy of assisting indigenous institutions rather than the operation of American institutions. There should also be borne in mind the possibility of extending the program to the other two republics of the Transcaucasian Federation, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Ultimately such a program could best be carried on through the allotment of subsidies under a competent director, who would have at his disposal a very small staff of highly trained specialists.

It is certain that the government would welcome a continuation of the present program to its conclusion, when practically all the orphans will have been discharged. Further permission to continue is contingent upon the real contribution made between now and that termination. Any attempt to interpolate religious education, under even its broadest definition, into the program, would seriously jeopardize the rest of the work.

THE BALKANS AND TURKEY

Unlike the Caucasus and the Arabian area, the Balkan states present a group of widely different situations. While in the Caucasus there is homogeneity and uniformity of administration under Soviet power, and in the Arabian area there is a fair degree of cultural unity, in the Balkans the old enmities that have flamed into frequent wars still smoulder, fed by the nationalism of the several states and the intrigues of the powers of western Europe. The region is polyglot, of varied religious adherence and culture. Although the area was not entirely covered, the situations found in the four states intensively studied—Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey—are fairly representative of the problems which this region presents. In view

of the different situations disclosed, it will be convenient, in this section, to consider the four countries separately.

Albania

Albania, a small land of 17,000 square miles and less than a million inhabitants, presents the curious anomaly of a nation that is one of the most strategically located in Europe and at the same time probably the most primitive. These two facts are not unrelated. Because of her location great empires throughout the Christian era have attempted to dominate Albania. For two thousand years the Shkipetars, or Eagle People, as the Albanians call themselves, have continued, despite the aggression of foreign powers, to maintain their national customs, their language, and even, to a large extent, their independence. This virtual freedom has been made possible by two factors: the inaccessible nature of their mountainous country and the indomitable spirit of freedom found among the Albanians themselves.

In theory the Peace Conference finally created Albania as a separate country but, as in the past, desperate efforts are being made by other powers to control her. Albania dominates one side of the outlet to the Adriatic, and is therefore of vital importance to both Italy and Jugo-Slavia. Italy must control Albania if the Adriatic is really to be an Italian lake; Jugo-Slavia would like to control Albania for an unhampered outlet to the Mediterranean. Recently Italy has been gaining influence rapidly. Treaties have been signed tying these two countries very closely together and less formal bonds have been developed extensively.

Health is one of the most serious problems that confronts Albania. Because of the poverty and ignorance of the people they are very susceptible to disease. As in most Near East countries, the three great scourges are tuberculosis, syphilis and malaria, and the greatest of these is malaria, since owing to peculiar topographical and climatic conditions the country provides ideal breeding-grounds for mosquitoes. Both in the army and among the civilian population malaria is the commonest of diseases, and it is inadequately cared for in every part of the country and is not fully controlled in the army. At present quinine is sold only in the larger towns and even there its quality and prices are entirely unrestricted. As a result, the disease is nowhere under control.

Tuberculosis is the country's second most important plague, yet there is not a single tuberculosis sanitorium in all Albania, although there are ideal spots in the mountains that might be used for the purpose.

There are only six hospitals in the whole country, and even these few are hampered by a lack of basic supplies. The Nurses' School,

which the Albanian Red Cross is planning to start in connection with the Tirana hospital, is an enterprise that is particularly worthy of support since the need for well-qualified nurses is one of the chief health problems of the country.

Health education for the masses is badly needed to overcome the ignorance and superstition of the common people. Courses in hygiene in the schools and the establishment of local public-health centers suggest themselves as obvious methods. It is encouraging that the American Woman's Hospital has recently decided to establish a demonstration center in Kavaje, Albania.

So far as agriculture is concerned, improved stock and agricultural education are the two outstanding needs. Although the country is supported almost entirely by its cattle and crops, agricultural methods are extremely primitive. Farmers are ignorant even of systematic crop rotation and know practically nothing of modern methods of cultivation. Moreover, the horned cattle of the country come from such degenerate stock that they are practically useless for either beef or milk. Instead, they are used for plowing and other draught purposes. Nothing has been done to improve the strains of the various crops. Obviously, Albania needs schools that will teach boys and girls how to farm. It also needs agricultural experiment stations that will help to improve the quality of both crops and animals, and through demonstrations spread to the most remote villages modern methods of cultivation and improved technique. On this account the Albanian-American School of Agriculture at Kavaje appears to be a most worthwhile venture.

In most Near East countries, the need for secondary technical training is acute yet this is not the case in Albania, since the Albania Vocational School at Tirana is largely meeting this particular need. It is to be hoped that the future of the school will not be allowed to be jeopardized by lack of funds.

Although Albania has no college or university of its own, the time does not seem ripe for establishing such an institution. American agencies might well coöperate in this matter to the extent of providing qualified students with scholarships to universities of the proper type abroad; but if that is done, care should be taken to prevent such students from being unfitted for Albanian life. In the last analysis, the chief problem before Albania is so to train its citizens that they can intelligently cope with the problems of life, as life is lived in Albania. America's contribution should lie in providing local leaders who would be willing to devote themselves to raising the general level of the rest of the population and in encouraging the development of a local mechanism which would function to this end.

Albania has been neglected by American philanthropy. One justi-

fication advanced for this neglect is the country's political instability; but this is a factor that is common to virtually every Near East country. Even assuming that there should be a fundamental change in government in Albania it seems unlikely that American enterprises would find their work seriously jeopardized.

Bulgaria

Bulgaria's entire area is only about 40,000 square miles, which is less than the size of such states as Virginia, Tennessee or Ohio. The population is about 20 per cent less than that of Ohio, or around 5,100,000. The people are intelligent and industrious, mentally and physically above the general level of Near-eastern populations. Indeed, the traveler in Bulgaria might easily imagine himself in parts of northwestern Europe. Since the Bulgars are a people well worth helping, their needs would seem to assume a special importance.

The outstanding problem in Bulgaria is the country's adverse economic situation. Bulgaria was not only defeated in the Great War but she was also defeated in the Balkan conflicts that immediately preceded it. In those years she lost many of her best sons, her lands were overrun by hostile armies and the country was forced to concede valuable areas in Macedonia, Thrace and the Dobroudga to her enemies. Moreover, by the Treaty of Versailles the state was confronted with the stupendous task of paying, in addition to an internal debt of about 100 million dollars, an external reparations debt of nearly 600 millions. According to the present schedule of repayments, the war debt will not be paid off until 1983. This is a black outlook for a country having within its borders tens of thousands of destitute refugees, disabled war veterans and needy wives and children of dead soldiers. The seriousness of the emergency confronting Bulgaria is indicated by the fact that recently the League of Nations authorized a loan of approximately $12,000,000 for the purpose of settling about 120,000 refugees who, in the words of the investigating commission of the League, are in "serious distress."

Not only is Bulgaria faced with depressing internal problems but the nation is also confronted by serious external difficulties. The country is surrounded by hostile neighbors with whom she has but recently been at war. Border incidents are frequent. Along with increase in racial hatred has gone an increase in nationalism, and this development, which is a world-wide phenomenon, is bound to have important effects upon any agency trying to do work in the Near East.

The feeling of anger caused by the nation's terrible defeats, together with disrupting propaganda and a general post-war restless-

ness, produced class hatreds and strife that several years ago assumed the dimensions of civil war between the people of the cities and of the villages. Fortunately these disorders have now ceased, but the episode serves to emphasize the fundamental contrast to be found, not only in Bulgaria but in all the Near East countries, between urban and rural dwellers. Many of the large cities have up-to-date conveniences, while most rural villages have only the barest necessities. Sofia, which is now a city of well over 200,000, has well-equipped hospitals and schools, a municipal water system, an electric light plant, taxis, street-cars, etc. These conditions, however, are not typical of the country as a whole. The great majority of the population—nearly 85 per cent—live in 5,700 villages, in most of which people exist near the subsistence level.

From the point of view of possible service by American philanthropy, the chief needs of Bulgaria relate to emergency relief, health, agriculture and the raising of the general level of the population through education. So far as most problems are concerned, American agencies would probably accomplish more by coöperating with the government than by trying to establish separate units of their own. This is the policy which has actually been followed by the two American health agencies in Bulgaria—the American Red Cross and the Rockefeller Foundation. The work of Miss Hazel A. Goff in reorganizing the Red Cross hospital at Sofia is a notable example of valuable results that one individual was able to accomplish while working in close coöperation with the Bulgarians themselves. It would seem, therefore, that in a somewhat similar way American money and personnel might well be made available to coöperate with the government in helping to improve the country's hospital service, in fighting malaria, in running model farms and experiment stations, and in getting health and agricultural education across to the masses through the public-school system.

The American schools in Bulgaria have an unusual opportunity for service. What the country needs above all else is local leaders who will be willing to help raise the physical and intellectual, the economic and spiritual level of the peasants who constitute the vast majority of the country's population.

The psychological value of American coöperation with Bulgaria would be particularly valuable just at this time when the Sofia government is inclined to feel itself friendless and alone. American aid and interest might do much to tide the country over the "convalescent" period through which it is now passing. An important factor in the situation is that Bulgaria would undoubtedly welcome and coöperate with American agencies to a greater extent than some of the other Near-eastern countries.

Greece

The most urgent problems of Greece are those arising out of the recent influx of refugees from other areas. In 1922 the population of Greece was roughly 5,000,000 but it is estimated that after the Smyrna fire 1,400,000 refugees fled to Greece from Asia Minor. This is an unprecedented event in the history of the migration of peoples. If 30,000,000 people suddenly entered the United States the proportionate increase in population would not be any greater than that experienced by Greece in 1923.

The immediate subsistence needs of these refugees were met by the Greek government, the American Red Cross, the Near East Relief and other similar agencies, but the herculean task of permanently reëstablishing these immigrants was turned over primarily to the Refugee Settlement Commission, a $50,000,000 organization established by the League of Nations. The magnitude of the task accomplished by this agency is indicated by a computation prepared especially for the Near East Survey showing that up to July 1, 1926, the total number of refugee families established in Greece was 219,830. By far the largest number have been settled in Macedonia. In that area alone 1,500 villages have been built, thus increasing the Greek population by 750,000. Moreover, the non-Greek population has been greatly reduced by the forced exchange of Turks and Bulgarians. The settling of so many farmers on the soil has already resulted in a much-needed increase in agricultural production.

Vast as is the work already accomplished, the Refugee Settlement Commission has been unable to meet many of the relief needs of Greece. The majority of urban refugees have not been provided for either by the government or by the Commission, and many of the immigrants in cities are living under deplorable conditions. This is particularly true of the Armenians, who fall definitely outside of the jurisdiction of the commission, since under its charter, the Refugee Settlement organization is specifically prohibited from assisting non-Greeks. As there are at the present time tens of thousands of Armenians in Greece, it becomes obvious that important relief needs still remain to be met. The situation is further complicated by the fact that Greece is decidedly overpopulated, and there are not enough jobs to go around. Naturally, the Armenians are the worst sufferers in this economic competition.

The influx of refugees has greatly aggravated the health problem. Because of overcrowding, tuberculosis has increased at an alarming rate until now it is responsible for more deaths than any other disease. Figures for the country's ten principal cities show that nearly one-eighth of all deaths were caused by tuberculosis.

Quite probably the actual rate is even higher than the govern-

ment figures indicate. Available facilities for fighting the disease are totally inadequate. The few tuberculosis hospitals conducted by the government cannot accommodate even 1,000 patients, and they are so overcrowded that applicants have to wait months before being admitted. Thus not only have patients often reached the incurable stage before hospitalization, but during the period of waiting they have spread infection to relatives and friends. The head of the second largest tuberculosis hospital in Greece estimates that there are 10,000 cases needing immediate attention that are too poor to avail themselves of private facilities. American philanthropy could probably make its most important contribution to health by helping to combat tuberculosis, not only because this disease accounts for more deaths than any other, but also because Greek public opinion is aroused to the importance of fighting it.

Malaria is another scourge of the country, the leading authority on the subject estimating that more than 1,400,000 persons—or one-fifth of the population are suffering from it. Effective work against malaria would require especially close coöperation with the Greek government since many aspects of a campaign agains malaria would involve the police power of the state. It is not at all certain that the necessary coöperation could be obtained.

The need for trained nurses is pressing. America has already made a contribution toward this problem but more needs to be done. It is especially important that the right type of girl be attracted to this form of service, and this in turn involves a process of education. The American schools for girls now operating in Greece ought to be able to assist in the process by pointing out to their students the importance of nursing as a life work.

Ignorance and superstition are among the most serious obstacles which prevent the development of a modern public-health program in Greece. Well-organized courses on hygiene in the schools would contribute greatly to a wholesome method of living.

Farming methods need to be improved. At the present time Greece is not self-supporting so far as food-stuffs are concerned. A number of agencies are trying to spread knowledge of improved agricultural methods among the peasants but as yet little headway has been made. Hence the agricultural extension work and farm schools are of the utmost importance, and should be further developed and expanded.

Greece is more highly industrialized than most Near East countries, and new factories are rapidly being established; nevertheless there is a dearth of trained workers. The vocational work of the Near East Relief has been a start in the right direction.

If plans are laid to assist Greece, it will be well to remember that one is dealing with a Christian land and with a civilization that was

flourishing more than two thousand years ago. The method adopted by the Y. M. C. A. at Salonica in dealing with the problem of religious instruction through the closest possible coöperation with the state church would seem to be particularly admirable, and the general principle of coöperation with indigenous agencies might well be applied to other fields beside the religious. It should not be assumed that simply because a certain type of work seems to be badly needed, the Greeks themselves will see the importance of it. One way of ensuring Greek coöperation would be to insist that before American enterprises undertook new work, the Greeks themselves should agree to contribute part of the expense. There is enough wealth in Greece to make this scheme feasible and there seems reasonable probability of such coöperation being secured.

Turkey

In many respects Turkey presents the most complicated situation of any Near East country. "Down and out" at the close of the Great War, the nation has nevertheless "come back," until now it has the general psychology of a victorious nation. Curiously enough a large part of Turkey's present strength is owing to her losses during the War. The Peace Treaty deprived the Sultan of wide areas in Syria, 'Iraq, Palestine and Europe. These losses have turned out to be a source of strength, since the country is no longer compelled to expend its energies in trying to govern hostile groups in widely scattered areas. Turkey has become a homogeneous nation. Even minority populations within the country itself have been largely eliminated, but this exodus of Greeks and Armenians has created serious disorganization, especially as Turkey, even before the exchange of populations, was an underpopulated country. At the present time, Turkey is a third larger than France, but has only a third as many inhabitants.

The outstanding social fact about Turkey is the rapid change from an essentially oriental to a fundamentally occidental civilization. A peaceful social revolution probably has never proceeded at a more rapid rate than in cities like Angora, Constantinople and Smyrna during the last few years. The nature and extent of the social changes can best be illustrated by analyzing the changed status of woman.

The emancipation of woman is a most striking social development, the importance of which can hardly be realized. It will eventually affect every aspect of Turkish life. It is, of course, more difficult to measure social than economic changes, and the rate of change has been tremendously accelerated in urban as compared with rural centers. Nevertheless, there are significant signs showing the magnitude

of the social upheaval now taking place. The Swiss Code, which was adopted on October 4, 1926, makes polygamy illegal and recognizes woman as equal to man before the law. This marks a stupendous advance from the old Koranic conception of the inferiority and dependence of woman. A generation ago education for girls can hardly be said to have existed; now girls are flocking to school in ever-increasing numbers. The abolition of the veil is another outward indication of a fundamental change in social attitudes. Only a few veiled women are to be seen in cities like Constantinople and Smyrna, while even in the rural districts the custom is beginning to be abandoned.

One of the most interesting features of the change is that it is being brought about because of and not in spite of men's efforts. One prominent Turkish woman states: "The freedom of women is scarcely realized as it has come entirely without opposition and without organized aggressive effort on their part."

The rapidity of these social changes has brought in their wake many serious problems, especially those of a moral nature. The eternal conflict between the older and the younger generations is naturally accentuated. The breakdown of old taboos and customs leads to the danger that all restraints will be discarded. It is hard to distinguish between liberty and license. Moreover, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are still very limited in comparison with the abundant social freedom of the West.

The religious situation, involving a weakening of the Moslem faith, is one of the most delicate and intricate that confronts Turkey, but the fact that the Turks are losing faith in their own religion does not mean that they are ready or willing to embrace Christianity.

One of the country's chief needs is for more and better education among the masses. At present it is estimated that 85 per cent of the population are illiterate. In the last analysis, the raising of the general level of the masses that is so essential to the new democratic form of government can only be accomplished by the Turkish educational system itself, but the present American schools in Turkey have a real opportunity to aid in the process by training local leaders. In general, the type of training most needed is practical. The American colleges might well consider the advisability of establishing carefully planned extension courses.

In view of the negative attitude of groups of Turkish officials toward certain American missionary and philanthropic enterprises, the immediate question to be faced by these organizations is not merely what needs to be done but also what work that is worth while can be successfully undertaken. What is the use of talking of the need of opening a baby clinic when only recently in Constantinople an American clinic operated primarily for Turks was closed? Why discuss the need for more hospitals when half a dozen American hos-

pital plants remain closed because they cannot get the necessary authorization to reopen?

Practically, therefore, the situation resolves itself into what services American philanthropy will be permitted to carry on under present conditions. This is not a question that can be answered in a blanket fashion for all the American agencies taken as a group, since the attitude toward the different units varies decidedly, depending upon such factors as the area in which they are located, the particular organization with which they are affiliated and the personalities of those in charge. On the whole, however, the institutions situated outside of Constantinople and Smyrna are less well received than the institutions located in those two cities.

There are reasons for feeling that the Turkish authorities are becoming more friendly toward American enterprises. Certainly the common people themselves are using American schools in far greater numbers than formerly.

So far as the agencies now operating in Turkey are concerned, the sensible course would seem to lie in the direction of bending every effort to develop further the confidence of the Turkish people in the value of American undertakings. As one of the leading educators in the Near East puts it, "It will take at least three years more really to convince the Turks that we are wholeheartedly working for them."

Under present conditions, American institutions cannot be successfully operated on the basis of proselytizing for Christianity. This is an issue that must be frankly faced. Moreover, no new work should be undertaken without the hearty endorsement of the Turkish government.

THE ARABIAN AREA

Sharing a common language and more or less common religious and political backgrounds—or, more exactly, religious and political diversity—Syria, Palestine and 'Iraq may well be considered as a unit. It is by no means a small unit. The combined territory of these three countries is about 200,000 square miles, roughly equal to that embraced by the six New England states, together with New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and a good part of Ohio. In this area there are probably between seven and eight millions of inhabitants. The diversity of the component elements of the population of the Arabic-speaking countries and their social and economic status are fundamental data with which any one planning a sound scheme for their benefit must be concerned.

First of all, a large section of the population, the nomadic tribes, will undoubtedly continue to be left out of consideration by occidental philanthropic and educational enterprises. The "wandering

camel-breeder and camel-lifter'' lives his life apart from the settled population, except for rare contacts for the purposes of trade or robbery. The camel is the center of his economic universe, and he is about as well or as badly off as he was in the days of Moses. No attempt was made by the survey to study in detail the life of the nomads.

The Arab peasant, the *fellah,* lives in a house of stone or mud instead of a tent; he gains a slightly more dependable livelihood by agriculture than the wanderer does by his pastoral occupation; but he has progressed very little more than the latter during the past thousand years. His plow closely resembles that of King Solomon's day. His land is exhausted by long exploitation and his animals are of degenerate stock. He cannot read or write. Where he needs to profit by the accumulated knowledge of the civilized world, he has only folklore for his guidance. The village in which he lives and the land that he tills are probably owned by a wealthy man in a distant city, whose one thought is for the revenue of the current year.

The city and town population is extremely heterogeneous—Arab landlords; Armenian and Jewish merchants and tradesmen; numberless ecclesiastics of a score or more of different faiths and sects; young *effendis,* with an occidental education, hoping for jobs which will not soil their hands; Armenian refugees eking out bare existences and saving their money to take them to France or the Americas. Despite the prevalence of nationalism, the personal ambition of a great proportion of well-to-do Arab townsmen appears to be to assume the virtues and vices of the Occident. Industries are of minor importance; the wealth of the rich men of the country is derived from trading or from their lands.

The ills of Syria, Palestine and 'Iraq are not unlike those of other Near-eastern countries. No one of these countries is at present economically self-supporting; malaria, tuberculosis, trachoma, and parasitic diseases are impairing the health and vitality of a great proportion of the inhabitants; deadly epidemic diseases still menace the lives of thousands who are beyond the reach of medical services; probably less than one child out of ten ever goes to school; the status of women is deplorable; recreation in its broad sense, both physical and spiritual, is neglected.

The populations in these countries are not inherently lacking in initiative, but a combination of circumstances has for a long time suppressed or stultified their efforts. Ignorance, economic depression, political oppression, physical illness, mental and spiritual bankruptcy—all are joined in a vicious network of causality. Efforts at amelioration must proceed *pari passu* in the several fields.

Most of the present ills of Syria, Palestine and 'Iraq are directly traceable to their top-heavy and parasitic social and economic struc-

ture. The *fellahin,* the peasantry, produce the wealth upon which the upper class lives, but the latter class has exhibited what seems to be total ignorance of the obvious fact that it is dependent upon the former. Until the dominant classes—the men of education and wealth—are brought to realize that their own interests would be best served by improving the economic, social and moral condition of the peasantry, no amount of foreign assistance will be able to set these countries on the road to self-support and self-respect.

Agricultural improvement among the *fellahin* is the first and foremost need. This can be undertaken through various channels, and indeed must be carried on along several lines at once.

1. The system of land tenure needs to be regularized and changed in some respects. Until the *fellahin* are given a clear title to their lands, it will be impossible for them to borrow money for necessary developments.

2. The quality of the crops and animals raised should be improved and reforestation is seriously needed.

3. Agricultural education is deficient for boys who will actually become farmers, and also for adults. It is a task of no mean difficulty to devise a system of agricultural training which will be more than a purely perfunctory part of the common-school curriculum and which will actually reach the real prospective tillers of the soil.

In Palestine the government Lands Department is carrying on a comprehensive survey of the country. Shortly after the British occupation the administration guaranteed a considerable loan to farmers through the banks. But it was found that with the uncertain tenure of land it was not a financially sound proposition, and no further loans have been authorized pending completion of that survey. The government is undertaking the establishment of stud farms and agricultural experiment stations, and is establishing a forest nursery. There have been numerous prosecutions under recently enacted laws regulating the cutting of existing forests. In the other two countries in this area little or no progress is being made.

Malaria, tuberculosis and trachoma are the principal scourges which must be attacked in this area. The government health services are the logical agencies to carry on the battle through medical and sanitary measures against these diseases that so seriously impair the vitality of the population and hinder all forms of progress.

In Syria and 'Iraq official agencies are severely handicapped by lack of funds, and well-advised assistance in certain projects by foreign funds might prove to be a most productive investment in the betterment of the life of the people. Any program of this sort ought to be preceded by a thorough study by experts. Foreign aid should take the form of technical assistance, demonstrations, or aid to local

organizations or communities willing to initiate approved campaigns along new lines.

The development of the nursing profession is perhaps even more important than campaigns against special diseases. At present the American University of Beirut has the distinction of conducting the only thorough school for nurses in Syria. If funds were available, public-health nursing might be demonstrated (as was once done by the American University in coöperation with the American Red Cross) with the definite object of getting the government or some local organization to carry on the work.

It seems doubtful whether the proposed 'Iraq medical school should be a first object of foreign assistance. The University of Beirut, with proper financial support, can care for the professional training of the entire area. The training of nurses and midwives, however, is a most urgent need, and could undoubtedly be greatly furthered not only by funds but also by personnel from abroad. The government hospitals, especially those in Baghdad, Basrah, and Mosul, are the best equipped and best situated for the introduction of nurses' training courses. The public confidence and respect that they enjoy should be of value in overcoming the traditional disdain for the nursing profession.

Palestine has a remarkably large number of good hospitals. A well-directed campaign to educate the Arab population in the benefits to be had from medicine and hygiene might profitably be conducted by the Christian mission hospitals in coöperation with the government. Additional demonstrations of public health nursing, in coöperation with the work of this nature already undertaken by the government would also be valuable. Such enterprises ought to enlist the active support of the people of the country.

The Palestine Directorate of Health intimates that it may invite philanthropic aid in an anti-tuberculosis campaign. If such aid is undertaken, it ought to be in the nature of helping to give the initial impulse to a program ultimately to be carried out by local agencies.

Education in the Near East has for centuries been a luxury, confined to the wealthy and the ecclesiastical classes. Conditioned by aristocratic traditions, it is but natural that indigenous educational institutions have followed the ideal of producing cultured gentlemen rather than intelligent average citizens or efficient workmen. Those who have attained education have been of two types: the scions of wealthy families, brought up with no idea of engaging in menial tasks, or else ambitious members of less favored classes who have been personally desirous of advancing out of the status of their families, either to become well-dressed and not overworked *effendis* or to emigrate to the New World. Foreign missionary schools have chiefly

drawn their clientele from those classes which would at all events have sent their children to some school. The financial situation within the missions has made it necessary for them to select a majority of paying pupils in most instances. Furthermore, these mission schools, almost without exception, emphasize their desire to train "leaders"—an extremely important object but by no means the full educational task.

It would be gratuitous to enter at length into an exposition of the great good that has been accomplished by Syrians, Palestinians and 'Iraqis who have enjoyed the benefits of education in American schools. Far from detracting from what has been accomplished, the time seems to have arrived—and to have arrived largely as a result of the achievements of mission schools—when very definite efforts must be made along new lines if the seed so well sown is to yield its full harvest. The most fundamental educational need in each and all of the countries is not only to arouse among the upper classes the desire to work for the improvement of the condition of the masses, but also *to show them how to go about it.* American educators in the Levant admit this need, and confirm it indirectly, by the statement that, in the case of most schools, a disappointingly large number of former pupils have emigrated to foreign lands where the opportunities for personal advancement are greater than at home.

Various sporadic attempts have been made to adapt schools to the great need of improving life. And most of them, unhappily, have been received with apathy. A few agricultural schools have been established and perhaps a half-dozen of them are still in operation, but most of these are run in connection with orphanages.

Village schools not of a strictly vocational type, on the other hand, have been as a rule feeders for more advanced academic schools in the larger towns and cities, tending to draw their pupils away from their villages and fit them for urban life, or, to put it more bluntly, to unfit them for village life.

The success of schools for the peasants can be brought about only after careful development of methods in the light of local conditions rather than by adoption of methods which have proved successful in the West. It was a long time before America realized the necessity of specially trained rural school-teachers rather than city school-teachers sent out into the country. The lesson, learned tardily in the United States, is even more pertinent in the Near East where the gap between rural and urban life is immeasurably greater than it is here.

A peculiar difficulty exists in Syria in the presence there of extensive Anglo-Saxon philanthropy side by side with Latin influences. The government is that of a French mandate and present official trends in education are Latin rather than Nordic.

Education in Palestine has in the past been of an aristocratic nature; there have long been both native and foreign schools for the few who are able to enter government service or to live lives of leisure, but it is only since the War that widespread elementary education has been introduced. The endeavor of the Department of Education to bring its village schools into closer rapport with the actual lives of villagers faces various difficulties, not the least of which is the deficiency of properly qualified teachers. Foreign efforts toward the improvement of the conditions of the village population could best be made in close coöperation with the government, which would unquestionably be very favorably disposed toward any practical schemes for the development of this most important branch of its work.

'Iraq is in effect just beginning to be educated. The Ministry of Education is sanely committed to the policy of developing first of all a sound basis of elementary education. To this policy, there is opposed a popular demand for the immediate establishment of schools of higher grade, for which it would be next to impossible to find properly qualified students. One of the features of the public-school system, in practice, is its tendency to turn out graduates who expect to find government jobs in which they will be absolved from manual labor. To institute schools above the secondary grade at present would be wasteful, for the system is already topheavy; with an enrollment of something like 600 in all the secondary schools in the country, there is already an engineering school, an agricultural school, a law school, and a "university," all of which are nominally institutions of higher learning, but are in fact obliged to accept pupils with decidedly inferior preparation.

In all three countries there are two most important fields in which little has as yet been accomplished by local efforts, and in which foreign assistance might stimulate activity. These are vocational education in a broad sense, and the education of girls with reference to the part they should play in society.

In the Near East in general,[5] vocational schools are associated with orphanages, and are regarded as substitutes for the training which could as well be obtained by apprenticeship. Vocational schools, as such, are in ill repute throughout the region due largely to the stigma attached to all manual labor. There is also no appreciation of the value of institutionalized vocational education as contrasted with the apprenticeship system. To convert the people to the idea of a vocational school as an institution for actually improving the technique of an industry will be a difficult task, but it may be accomplished when it is generally realized that the country faces the alternatives

5 A notable exception is Armenia and the rest of the Soviet Union.

of training its own mechanics or importing a caste of skilled laborers of other nationalities.

The education of girls and women is the most hopeful point of attack upon the decadent state of home life and upon the adverse circumstances in which most of the youth begin life. Here again, anything attempted by foreigners ought to be done in coöperation with the government and it should certainly not support the classical type of "finishing school" but should urge training in matters germane to the home and family.

One of the worst features of Arab civilization is the nature of its recreation, and the growing popularity of the cinema has not thus far been a change for the better. If some arrangement could be made whereby motion-pictures showing the best rather than the worst of western life and customs could be exhibited, what is at present a menace might become a most helpful medium for interpreting to these populations the new cultural influences that have suddenly come to bear upon them with tremendous force.

Arabs in general need to be taught to play. Social recreations of a good type are conspicuously absent. Their introduction cannot be accomplished by flat. Anglo-Saxon schools have made a worthy contribution in teaching athletic games to some of the youth. Yet many lines of further work could very well be undertaken.

In all three countries relief work has been imperative. Without American philanthropy, generously given and skillfully administered, a situation horrible enough in spite of every effort would have been a thousand-fold worse. Conditions have, however, improved.

In Syria events since 1914 have at various times rendered homeless or destitute thousands of people within its boundaries. Persecutions and formal deportation drove hordes of Armenians from their homes in eastern Asia Minor into Syria. The large numbers of Armenian refugees remaining in Syria are in a precarious situation. Thousands are still in refugee camps and other thousands have but an uncertain foothold among the native Syrians. Political disturbances have made considerable districts unsafe for habitation by the families of indigenous combatant factions. The number of homeless as a result of the rebellion and attendant disturbances has varied continually. Until political stability is achieved, there will be the possibility of sudden need for relief work among Syrians themselves.

In Palestine the number of refugee Armenians is relatively small, and they are apparently in no danger of very severe suffering, although their economic status is precarious. They receive some aid in the form of housing and some financial assistance from their fellow-countrymen. The recent Jewish settlers in Palestine constitute a group totally different and separate from the indigenous inhabitants. They are receiving thorough attention from Jewish organizations

abroad which lavish large sums upon them annually. There is no reason why a non-Jewish organization should at present undertake any work among them.

While there is opportunity and undoubtedly a real need for direct charitable aid to many families in the Arab and old Jewish elements of the Palestine population, it would seem better for American philanthropy to confine its attention to work designed to remove the source of distress rather than to alleviate its symptoms.

A small amount of American relief work was carried on in 'Iraq after the War, but it has been liquidated, and the only present concern there is with the outlook for constructive endeavors.

The problems of the Arabian area, while qualified somewhat by local political situations, are in general common to the section as a whole. The solutions are to some extent political but in the main lie in teaching the populations how to work in order that they may know how to live. Through developing local systems of education which will reach all classes in all localities can come the economic rehabilitation, the physical vitality and the mental stamina that are the foundation-stones indispensable in the building of character.

CHAPTER II

ARMENIA

By Frank A. Ross

The term Armenia[1] has been applied to varying areas. Prior to the Great War it generally included the Turkish vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Erzerum, Diarbekr, Mammet ul-Aziz (Kharput), Sivas, Trebizond and a large part of Cilicia including the vilayet of Adana, and also certain portions of the Russian Transcaucasian governments of Kars, Erivan and Elisavetopol.

Historical Background

In this area at the outbreak of the War there were about 2,700,000 Armenians, constituting 35 to 100 per cent of the local populations. About half of these were in the Russian section.

There is no need to repeat here the well-known story of the massacres inflicted on the inhabitants of the Turkish portion prior to the War. When Turkey declared war against Russia in 1914 the Turkish Armenians were regarded with suspicion and were disarmed. Without means of self-protection, they were subjected to the frightful massacres of 1915 and subsequent years in which various estimates place the numbers who perished at between 600,000 and 1,000,000, with the latter figure the more probable. Along with the massacres came deportations which together with the later "exchanges" under the Nansen scheme practically eliminated Armenians from the Turkish portion of Armenia. These unfortunates were driven from Cilicia eastward and southward into Persia, 'Iraq, Syria, and Palestine; westward to Constantinople, Greece and the Greek Islands; and northward and eastward into Transcaucasia. It is estimated that 350,000 entered this latter region.

The Russian Armenians were loyal to the Czarist cause and furnished approximately 200,000 men to the army as regulars and militia.

[1] Thanks are due to Mr. George Wilcox of the Near East Relief, and to Professor O. S. Morgan of Columbia University, for much material collected for this report. Sources are not cited owing to the large number of documents used. Most of the figures are from government publications and are believed to be fairly reliable.

In March, 1917, following the Russian revolution, the Kerensky government established a "Special Committee for Transcaucasia." However, early in 1918 Transcaucasia declared itself independent of Russia and a government was set up in Tiflis under the name of the Democratic Federal Republic of Transcaucasia, made up of Armenians, Georgians, and the Tartars of Azerbaijan. This lasted but five weeks. Late in May, 1918, the Federation was disbanded and separate republics were formed.

By November, 1917, under the Bolshevist régime, the breakdown of the Russian army had begun. All the Russian soldiers abandoned the Caucasus front and it devolved on the Armenian regulars and militia to defend the Turkish frontier. By stages they were driven back until by June, 1918, the Turkish army had overrun a major part of Russian Armenia. The Republican government of Armenia was obliged to sign a treaty of peace with the Turks at Batum on the 4th of that month.

In December, 1918, conforming to the conditions of the Armistice signed with the Allied Powers at Moudros on October 30, 1918, Turkey was obliged to evacuate Transcaucasia, retiring to the frontier of 1914. In spite of the stipulations of that treaty, which required Turkish demobilization, its armies were strengthened on the Armenian front.

On August 10, 1920, the Treaty of Sèvres was signed between Turkey and the Allied Powers, among them Armenia. This treaty gave to President Wilson the task of delineating the frontiers of the Armenian state in the provinces of Erzerum, Van, Bitlis, and Trebizond. On the 22nd of November Wilson rendered his decision allocating to Armenia 87,000 square kilometers in these provinces.

Entirely disregarding the provisions of the treaty, Turkey prepared to make further invasion of Armenia. At the same time Russia, coöperating with the Turks, mobilized troops near the borders of Armenia. In this movement they were assisted by the Tartars of Azerbaijan which had by this time come under the domination of Moscow. About the middle of September, 1920, the Turks began action against Armenia without any pretense of declaration of war. At the same time the government of Soviet Russia sent to the Armenian government a note demanding (1) free passage for Turkish and Bolshevist troops, (2) renunciation of the Treaty of Sèvres, (3) severance of all relations with the Allied Powers.

The Republican government refused to accept these terms but was so hard-pressed that it was forced to sign a disastrous peace with the commander of the Turkish forces at Alexandropol (now Leninakan) on December 2, 1920. This treaty fixed the boundary between Turkey and Armenia, giving to Turkey the whole region up to the Arpa-Tshai. The Turks did not withdraw from Armenia until April,

1921. During their occupancy there were many deportations and much destruction.

In late December, 1920, a Russian force entered Armenia and replaced the former Republican government by a Revolutionary Armenian Committee. On the 18th of February a popular uprising drove them out and reinstated the former government. In March, however, Georgia had fallen to the Red Armies and on the 2nd of April, Erivan was reoccupied by the Bolsheviks and the old government was again evicted. On March 16 the Soviet government at Moscow recognized the Alexandropol Treaty of December 2, 1920. By April, 1921, the Soviet government in Armenia had been firmly established. Finally, on the 13th of October, 1921, after negotiations between Moscow and Angora, a new treaty of peace was signed between Turkey and the three Soviet republics of Transcaucasia, reiterating the terms of the Alexandropol treaty, and further narrowing the boundaries of Armenia by giving to Azerbaijan the province of Nakhitchevan, and to Georgia the province of Adjarie.

The present area of Armenia is little more than one-tenth of the pre-War Armenian territory; less than one-fifth of the area defined by President Wilson; and about one-half of Czarist Armenia. The several boundaries are shown on the map.

The pages which follow describe the situation in this restricted area of Armenia since the establishment of organized government which has followed the long period of chaos, destruction, and suffering.

Physiography and Climate

The territory of Soviet Armenia covers approximately 12,000 square miles and consists of high table-land (the average elevation being about 5,000 feet) cut by mountainous ridges. The terrain rises from about 4,000 feet in the south and west to the heights of Mt. Alageuz (15,000 feet) and the lesser elevations of the Chah Dagh, in the north and east. Along the western border run the River Araxes and its tributary, the Arpa-Tshai, which flow southward and eastward into the Caspian Sea, a little south of Baku. Into these drain the River Zanga, outlet for Lake Sevan, and the small streams of western and southern Armenia. Lake Sevan covers about 600 square miles and lies in a mountain pocket at an elevation of 6,400 feet at the center of the eastern border. To the north small streams, flowing northward, empty into the River Kura which, running generally eastward, joins the Araxes a few miles from its mouth. The divide between the two river systems runs across Armenia from the upper end of Lake Sevan to the northwestern corner of the Republic.

In general the table-land is without forests. Only on the north-

ern slopes of the northern ridges is there timber in significant quantity. For the most part the wide reaches of table-land can support a moderate agriculture wherever outcroppings of igneous rock give place to loose loamy soil. The mountain-sides furnish pasturage for flocks and herds.

The whole territory gives evidence of its volcanic origin. During 1926 earthquakes of great violence and serious consequences occurred.

Spring commences early in the lower valleys, though snow lingers late on the northern plains, in hill pockets, and on the crest of Alageuz. By the end of May the grass of the table-lands has begun to dry up. In most of the country little rain falls during the summer months, rapidly draining off into the precipitous stream beds. On the northern slopes of the northern section, however, summer storms are not infrequent. Crops tend to mature early, much harvesting being done in late June. By October, autumn is well advanced in the north and by the early days of December the hard winter has begun. In the lower section, near Erivan, the climate is generally semi-tropical, but elsewhere high elevation makes for cool and short summers and winters marked by severe storms and protracted cold.

It is conspicuous that Armenia is entirely lacking in coast line, and its rivers are too small to afford water lanes to any sea.

Demography

The population of present-day Armenia numbers probably somewhat under 900,000 persons. Due to the ravages of war, pestilence and earthquake and to radical changes in boundaries, any generalization from early census figures can be considered but a rude approximation.[2] The population figure now used is 876,600 in 1926. The land area is but 11,950 square miles. The density, therefore, is approximately 73 per square mile. Compared with its neighbors, Georgia (about 100 per square mile) and Azerbaijan (about 70 per square mile), the density does not seem excessive, but when compared with Turkey (less than 50 per square mile), the whole U. S. S. R. (less than 18 per square mile), the overpopulation of this primitive agricultural region, with its barren mountains and arid table-lands, is seen to be very great.

Although predominately Armenian the population includes numbers of Turks (or Turko-Tartars), Russians, Yezids and Persians.

2 The only real censuses that have ever been taken were one under the Czarist régime in 1897, two under the Soviet system as of November 1, 1922, and December 17, 1926. Neither of the first two is very reliable. The last seems to have been taken with reasonable care.

The 1926 census percentages for the population elements are shown in the following table.

	Per Cent
Armenians	84.7
Turks	8.9
Russians	2.3
Yezids	1.4
Persians	1.3
Others	1.4
TOTAL	100.0

The traveler in Armenia is impressed with what seems to be an abnormally large number of aged and very young. The age statistics do not bear out this conclusion. While birth-rates are high, there is early ageing of the population and the brief life span accounts for the reduction of numbers in the late age-groups.

As to the degree of urbanization, there are about 840 villages of under 3,000 inhabitants, fifteen towns of 3,000 to 5,000, and but seven places of more than 5,000. Only two centers are of considerable size, Erivan 66,413 and Leninakan 41,942, all other centers being less than 20,000.

Armenia is essentially a rural country, the population being concentrated in small villages, scattered in the valleys and on the tablelands between the ridges.

The Christian element in the population, consisting of a very large majority of Armenians with admixtures of Greek Orthodox, Mollicon, Russian Evangelical, and other religious groups, greatly predominates over the non-Christian portion, which consists of the almost entirely Mohammedan Turko-Tartar population and the fire-worshiping Yezids, who constitute a survival of the Zoroastrian faith. There are few Jews in Armenia. On account of the attitude of the government no figures are obtainable for religious bodies, and active atheistic propaganda has tended to reduce materially the actual numbers of real participants in the religious activities of the various creeds.

It is difficult to measure natural increase in Armenia. Official estimates give a crude birth-rate of 38 per 1,000 and a crude death-rate of 13 per 1,000 for 1923. These show a tendency to very rapid expansion of the population. While they probably exaggerate the movement somewhat, the tendency toward increased overpopulation is unquestionable. The estimated excess of births over deaths was about 20,000 or about 2.5 per cent of the total population.

Practically all migration into Armenia from localities outside the Soviet Union is surreptitious or consists of sizeable shipments of refugees. These latter, according to official figures, numbered 2,470 in 1924 and were somewhat more in earlier years. It is probable

that some of the few Armenians still in Turkish Armenia slip across the border into Soviet Armenia each year. There is probably a slight movement back and forth across the border of individuals engaged in the smuggling trade. The legitimate movement out of Armenia into foreign countries is very slight.

In the spring of each year Tartars to the number of 50,000 to 60,000, who have wintered their flocks and herds in the low, warm plains of Georgia and Azerbaijan, move southward into the highlands of Armenia. During the summer they occupy the pastures far up on the mountain-sides of northern Armenia. They bring with them 8,000 to 12,000 draft, pack, and riding animals; 120,000 head of large cattle; and 300,000 of small cattle.[3] On their trek into the country they camp by the wayside, but on their arrival in the highlands establish semi-permanent camps, where they remain until the cold of early September warns them to leave for their warmer winter headquarters. These tribes of nomads have regularly, through centuries, made these spring and fall journeys, and feel that both winter and summer pasture lands belong to them. Each small group returns every year to the particular Armenian hillside which it has occupied in the past. The social and economic consequences of this seasonal migration are treated of elsewhere. Suffice it to say that these Tartars constitute a group entirely apart from the permanent residents of the country and are not included in any of the statistics.

There is nothing to induce other inhabitants of neighboring territory to move into Armenia; rather, the hard life incidental to snatching the barest living from the soil produces a movement out of the country, slight but regular, into the areas north and east. Even under the Czarist régime Armenians were to be found in quite large numbers in Georgia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, and the Ukraine. No figures are available for the present-day movement, but it probably reaches into the thousands each year.

Little can be said regarding the refugee population. During the periods of Turkish persecution hundreds of thousands left the Turkish vilayets for the greater safety that the Caucasus offered. When the Russian war-front broke, unknown thousands left the Kars and Van areas, some going to Persia but most to Russia. The Turkish invasions—which overran the land even to Baku—pestilence, famine, and earthquake, have taken even greater toll of the refugee element than of the permanent population. Finally, in the years of peace since 1921 those who fled from Turkey have been widely scattered. No official statistical inquiries are available which differentiate foreign-born from native-born. It seems probable, however, that not

[3] These figures are approximations given by the Statistical Section of the Armenian government.

less than 200,000 in the present population (about one-fifth) were born outside the present confines of the Republic. The demotic composition of this one-fifth is probably very abnormal. In the many villages visited it appeared that a large part of the Turkish-Armenian families consisted of a mother and several children, but no male head of the household. It is almost certain that in the adult age-groups there would be found a large deficit of males.

A fraction of the male population has not been continuously resident in the area. Many are former migrants to the Americas who returned, when the first Republic of Armenia was set up, to search for relatives.

There is very little intermarriage among the various elements of the population. This, however, does not apply to matings between Turkish Armenians and Russian Armenians. They have the same mother tongue and social and religious traditions. Frequent marriages of this sort take place. Occasionally one finds a household in which the husband or wife is Russian and the mate Armenian. The Mohammedan and Yezid populations are antagonistic toward the Christian groups and are not favorably inclined toward each other. There is in consequence no mating between these population elements. As has been implied, the nomadic Tartars hold entirely apart from the permanent population.

Governmental Organization [4]

To understand the government organization of Armenia it is necessary to place it in its proper position in the general organization of the Soviet Union. The chart on page 37 indicates the Republic of Armenia as one of the Independent Socialistic Soviet Republics but subordinate to the Transcaucasian Soviet Federation.

The Soviet Union comprises at present the following six allied republics: The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the Ukranian Socialist Soviet Republic, the White-Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the Usbed Socialist Soviet Republic, and the Turcoman Socialist Soviet Republic. The Transcaucasian Federation is itself a union of three distinct republics: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia.

The fundamental nucleus of the Soviet power is the soviet (council) of the productive unit, the village in the country and the factory, office, etc., in the city. The soviets are elected annually by all working-people and are either agricultural or industrial. No electoral rights are enjoyed by persons who employ others, or who trade or live on rents, etc. Certain members of the old bourgeoisie, of the Czarist army, of the former police, are also barred, as are

[4] Source: Official U. S. S. R. Publications.

the clergy. The village and town soviets elect delegates to the district soviets, and the latter elect delegates to the provincial soviets.

The representative bodies of the autonomous regions and republics are elected by the same system. The soviet congresses of the various provinces and of the autonomous units elect delegates to the Union Congress. Representation in the district, provincial, and Union congresses is not strictly proportional to population. On the contrary, it is weighted so that the industrial class, which is very much smaller than the peasant class, is given a far higher proportion of representa-

ORGANIZATION CHART OF THE SOVIET UNION *

tives than its numbers would warrant. The Union Congress of Soviets, composed of 1,500 delegates, meets as a rule once a year, and the sessions last from ten to twelve days. After the close of the Congress the delegates surrender their mandates. The Union Congress of Soviets is theoretically the supreme organ of authority, having both legislative and administrative functions. The Soviet system knows no rigid division between legislative and executive authority. As a rule the Congress does not frame laws; it merely lays down the basic principles of policy in the various domains of national life.

Between sessions of the Congresses the Central Executive Committee of the Union or of the Republic fulfills the functions of the larger body, by which it is elected. For the Union the Central Executive Committee is made up of two bodies; the Union Council and the Council of Nationalities. The Union Council is composed of 400 members who are elected by the Union Congress from among

* The autonomous Socialistic Soviet Republics and the Autonomous Territories are not shown. Under the Russian Soviet Federation there are ten of the former and thirteen of the latter; under the Ukraine one of the former; under Azerbaijan one of each; under Georgia two of the former and one of the latter; and under Usbekistan one of the former.

the delegates of the allied republics, in proportion to the number of the population of the respective republics. The preponderance of the Russian Soviet Federation, however, which comprises 74 per cent of the total population of the Union, is counteracted by the composition of the Council of Nationalities, in which each autonomous and allied republic has five representatives, and each autonomous territory one representative (making a total of 131), so that the nationalities are overwhelmingly in the majority against the five Russian representatives. This means that Armenia should have approximately three or four representatives on the Union Council and its five representatives on the Council of Nationalities. It has further weight in the Council of Nationalities through the five delegates from the Transcaucasian Soviet Federation. Its representation in the bodies of the Transcaucasian Federation is much larger but is outweighed by those for Georgia and Azerbaijan.

The Central Executive Committee meets at least three times annually, holding brief sessions. The permanent body is the Presidium which is composed of twenty-one members and which transacts all of the current legislative, and part of the administrative work. It is elected by and is responsible to the Central Executive Committee.

Paralleling this representative system is the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Union. Unlike the ministerial cabinets of parliamentary countries, this body within the sphere of its activities possesses not only administrative but also legislative authority. It is composed of the Chairman, his deputy and ten People's Commissars responsible for the different branches of the administration of the affairs of the state and divided into Federal and United Commissariats. The Federal consist of the Commissars for Foreign Affairs, Army and Navy, Foreign Trade, Transportation, Post and Telegraphs. They are supreme in all matters in their respective fields throughout the whole Union and have representatives with each of the Federated Republics. The United Commissariats, discharging functions which are within the competence of the several Republics but over which the Union authorities have general supervision are the People's Commissariats for Labor, Finance, Workers and Peasants Inspection, Internal Trade, and the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

For each of the several allied Republics of the Union the Soviet of People's Commissars is made up of the last five Commissariats plus those for Agriculture, Home Affairs, Justice, Education, Health, and Social Insurance, together with a chairman and his deputy.

Thus there are five fields—foreign affairs, army and navy, foreign trade, transport, and post and telegraphs—which, of concern to the entire Union, are under the sole control of the Union authorities.

In five other fields—labor, finance, workers and peasants inspection, internal trade, and public economy—the allied Republics each have their direct say with coördination and supervision by the Union. In other fields—agriculture, home affairs, justice, education, health, and social welfare—there is a degree of autonomy for the several Republics.

It is apparent that Armenia, although nominally an "independent republic," has actually limited control over its own affairs. Administration is complicated and much time often elapses between the inception of a project and its final authorization, due to the many checks and supplementary authorizations that are necessary. There seems to be lack of coördination between the various Commissariats of the same administrative level, considerable overlapping in the functions of each, frequent tardy authorization by higher authorities, and congestion of work within the Commissariats themselves. There is a great lack of clerical machinery, such as typewriters and filing systems, and of trained clerical personnel, which in western states so greatly facilitates administration, both commercial and governmental.

Paralleling to some degree the official structure is the highly organized Communist Party. This consists of about 1,150,000 persons distributed throughout the Union, carefully selected for their loyalty to Communist principles. Of them 775,000 are full members and 375,000 candidates. Women constitute one-ninth of the total. Workers constitute more than one-half, office workers nearly one-quarter, and peasants less than one-fifth of the total. Frequent purges (tchistka) occur, intended to eliminate all who are not thoroughly in accord with the principles of the party, who are careerists, or who have not shown sufficient zeal in forwarding the interests of the party and of the Union. It is said that practically all small settlements throughout the Union contain one or more Communist Party representatives. It is certain that they constitute a widespread organization for economic and social propaganda, for the speedy procuring and centralization of information, and for political control.

Pledged to strict Marxian socialism, under extremely rigorous discipline, and highly zealous in their devotion to party well-being, the members of the Communist Party dominate the policies of the Union and of the several Republics. Wherever feasible, members of the party are introduced into public office. In public positions which require a high degree of technical skill it has been necessary to select non-party personnel, but usually a party member is on the staff and is included in all deliberations. The large number of instances in which this prevails is indication of the earnest desire on the part of the party to assure as good an administration of public affairs as is compatible with strict party control.

Since a main function of the Communist Party is propagandist, it exerts a powerful influence over the whole educational system. Practically every agency which can influence the social, economic and political thinking of the populace is utilized by the Communist Party for propaganda and is largely in its hands. The Armenian members of the Communist Party are many, and seem to be drawn from the best elements in the population.

It is but natural that suspicion and distrust should be widespread. The former spy system, with its arbitrary tribunals, popularly known as the Tcheka, was supplemented by the information service of the Communist Party itself.

Recently the Tcheka system has been modified and theoretically assures the individual trial before the courts. The whole function is now organized under the United State Political Administration (OGPU), having a structure similar to the United Commissariats and having as its task the suppression of counter-revolution, spying, and banditism, as well as securing information regarding violations of such ordinances as speculation in foreign currency, smuggling and dealing in smuggled goods. Its personnel is in large measure a secret service and is supplemented by informers among the body politic.

The People's courts, the basic units of the judicial system of the Soviet Union, which dispose of 90 per cent of all the cases tried by courts, are frankly constituted on political principles, as the permanent chairmen of the People's courts are elected by the respective provincial executive committees, while the two assessors of each court, who are changed every week, are chosen from the lists of the local soviets, *i.e.*, from the local wielders of political authority. The higher courts, provincial and Supreme Court, are apparently constituted in a similar fashion, but require higher political and judicial qualification for their judges. The Communist Party has a certain degree of judicial control over its members and it is asserted that penalties inflicted are many times more severe than would be imposed by the courts for similar offenses within the general body politic. It is also probable that certain political cases do not reach the courts at all, sentence being imposed as under the former Tcheka.

The criminal code was adopted for the Russian Soviet Federation about 1921–22. It was compiled under the direction of the Executive Committee by the Commissar of Justice and a Commission. Each republic has its own criminal code, but there is great similarity throughout the whole Union. The criminal code is strictly enforced; penalties are severe, capital punishment being imposed for many more offenses than in the United States.

The civil code, replacing the Code Napoléon, which was in force under the Czarist régime, was revised to take effect in 1922–23. It is "temporary" and takes into account non-governmentalized or pri-

vate property. It admits that at the present stage all property cannot be public, that a transition stage is necessary. The present law recognizes government trust, government stock companies, coöperatives, private stock companies, partnerships and private individuals. The civil code was evolved by the Central Executive Committee, Lenin himself playing an important part. While theoretically the republics make such modifications as they deem necessary, actually changes must be ratified by the Union. The legal profession contributed largely to the establishment of the new code. The profession was out of favor with the Czarist régime. In spite of this, however, it is not as influential today in Russia as in most other countries. Justice seems to be speedy but not altogether certain, due in part to the fact that the codes are not thoroughly understood and to the inexpertness of those charged with the task of rendering justice, though apparently there is great improvement over the situation in the earlier days of the Soviet régime.

Fiscal Condition

At present there is only one currency throughout the Soviet Union. The unit is the chervonetz, consisting of 10 gold roubles of 100 kopeks each. At par one gold rouble equals $.515, or £.106. Prior to 1923 there was a multiplicity of currencies in circulation, all of them very much depreciated in value, particularly in Transcaucasia where there was a jumble of Czarist, Federation, and Republican scrip in circulation. There is presumed to be an adequate supply of gold reserve behind the present paper currency. However, the strenuous enforcement of existing legislation against speculation in foreign exchange and the stringent prohibition of transactions in foreign exchange under par, indicate that the present currency is not altogether sound. As a matter of fact in Armenia the American dollar sometimes brings 2.5 roubles instead of the official 1.945 roubles. A favorite method of getting around the law against illicit dealings in dollars is to lower prices of commodities when payment is made in dollars. The existing stringent regulation of foreign trade and the apportionment to various kinds of imports is due to the effort of the Union to protect the rouble by the establishment of favorable trade balances abroad.

The banking system of the Union is based upon quite different principles from those in other countries due to the fundamental principle of state capital. It is primarily designed for (a) the development of state credit through the issue of currency and (b) the dissemination of this credit throughout the Union according to carefully worked-out plans.

In Armenia the most important fiscal agency is the Agricultural Credit Bank. The bank gives long-term credits for special purposes at the rate of 4½ per cent and short-term at 7 per cent per annum, and in some cases charges up to 9 per cent. The rural holding with its crops, cattle, etc., serves as security.

Under the Union Constitution of 1923 Armenia is not free to conclude loans at its own discretion. However, in the only case where attempt was made to secure permission from the Union authorities, it was granted. This instance was the request that Armenia be permitted to float a loan through the League of Nations for the settlement of refugee Armenians on the land.

Budget

It is extremely difficult to secure any reliable information regarding the budget of Armenia. Due to the hierarchical organization of the Union and the repeated changes that are made from time to time in adapting the new order to the practical exigencies of government, the situation has been chaotic. There is at present one budget for the Union in which among others is embodied *in toto* the budget of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. In this are included the *state* budgets of the three federated republics, together with the *local* budgets of the three republics.

As to the state budget of the Armenian Republic, unofficial figures set the total for 1926–27 at about 20,000,000 roubles, half of which was allocated to the Commissariats—about 8,000,000 roubles to the Commissariat of Education, and approximately 2,000,000 roubles divided among the other Commissariats. It was not clear for what purposes the other 10,000,000 roubles was set aside. As nearly as can be estimated the budget for 1924–25 amounted to about 8,000,000 roubles. As the budget of the government of Armenia is a constituent part of budgets of higher organizations it obviously must balance.

For the local budgets more specific information is available. The local budgets, which are nine in number corresponding to the nine districts of Armenia, are each divided into (1) city budget, (2) budget for the rural part of the district in its entirety, (3) county budgets. In the year 1924–25—the first year in which the law was in operation—such differentiation was carried through in but seven districts. For these the component parts of the local budgets, which in 1924–25 totalled three and one-half million roubles, were as follows:

	Per Cent
City Budget	45.4
District Budget	37.8
County Budget	16.8
Total	100.0

Through the system of "voluntary taxation" before 1924–25 all local needs not cared for in the all-district budget were provided. It was voluntary taxation in name only: its distinctive feature was that it was undertaken in each village separately and each payment was made for a specified purpose, such as local police, field watchmen, maintenance and construction of school buildings, of roads, etc. Even in 1924–25 the estimated amount of voluntary taxation was 1½ times the amount of county budgets (750,000 as against 500,000 on county budgets) and reached 50 per cent of the amount of agricultural tax.

There appears to be a general tendency for the local budgets to show deficits, increasing with time, due mainly to the tendency to unburden the state budget of many items of expenditure and include them in the local budgets. Thus in 1925, these items were added to the local budget: Local police (militia), public education, justice, salaries of presidents of rural soviets, and quartering the Red Army in cities.

Taxation

Different systems of taxation apply to rural and urban dwellers. In the early years practically all the revenue came from the peasantry. Now the peasant is subject only to the single agricultural tax, which is expected to cover not over 10 per cent of the expenditures. The taxation of the peasantry is one of the most difficult problems with which the state has to deal. It has been demonstrated that if the incidence on the peasant is heavy he withdraws from cultivation. This has resulted in much experimentation in taxation. The latest information available regarding the taxation system is as of May 7, 1925, for the agricultural tax, and as of November 29, 1924, for the income tax.

The Union regulations which apply in general to Armenia are as follows: All people engaged in agriculture are subject to this tax. Those paying this tax are not subject to any other tax assessed on agriculture, except the payments for compulsory insurance. The income derived by the rural population from manufacturing, commerce and other sources not connected with agriculture is to be taxed according to the existing laws regulating taxes other than agricultural. Village craftsmen and manufacturers on the domestic system are given certain partial exemptions.

Units paying the agricultural tax are not individuals, but households. These latter are assessed according to the amount of land tilled (or in some cases planted, no distinction being made between land received from the community and land rented), according to the number of work horses or oxen and other cattle, and in some cases according to the number of sheep and goats kept through the winter. The method of assessment is extremely complex and varies contin-

ually. The country is divided into zones, in each of which the tax rate is different. Exemptions are numerous and the regulations complicated.

The effect of the 1925 legislation was marked in Armenia. There was a general reduction in taxes assessed, reaching in some cases to 50 or 60 per cent.

Under the law of November 29, 1924, those subject to taxation are individuals having an independent income. Each individual is taxed separately. Many exemptions are allowed.

Taxpayers are divided into three groups:

A. Wage- and salary-earners and pensioners who pay each half year the following amounts:

Roubles Earned Monthly	*State*	*Local*	*Total*
75–100 roubles	3.60	.90	4.50
100–150 roubles	7.20	1.80	9.00
150 and over	15.00	3.75	18.75

There are also progressive taxes levied on incomes in this group of over 2,400 roubles per year. The tax is collected by the establishments paying wages, salaries and pensions by monthly deductions from payments.

B. Craftsmen and professional men, who are taxed more heavily.

C. Income not from personal exertion, which is subject to a very heavy burden.

There are many special business taxes and a large number of indirect taxes too complicated in system to admit of description here. Among these are excise and customs taxes which are in the hands of the Union authorities and do not accrue to Armenia.

Approximately 55 per cent of the taxes are paid by the rural population. However, an urban resident pays about six times as much in taxes as a village resident.

Means of Communication

Armenia has only one railroad trunk line. This extends from Tiflis, in Georgia, southward through western Armenia to Tabriz, in Persia. It is of great commercial importance to the Republic.

After the Armistice the condition of the rolling-stock was bad and rapidly growing worse. A large percentage of the rolling-stock should have been in the repair shop, but repairs were difficult and sometimes impossible because of the lack of spare parts, machinery, and small tools. The scarcity of locomotives was a great handicap.

Since the organization of all railroads in the Soviet Union under the Union Commissariat for Transport, the general efficiency of the line in Armenia has been high. However, both freight and population

transport is leisurely from an American standpoint. Upkeep of road bed is good and new rolling-stock is occasionally allotted to this branch. The Union government realizes the necessity of this road for troop transportation to this outpost country.

Beside this railroad line, there are the following roads in Armenia:

1. Macadam roads, with slopes, no less than 21 feet wide, covered with crushed cobblestone and equipped with bridges, dams, supports, etc.
2. Dirt roads, either natural or artificially made, about 14 feet wide. These roads are not covered with crushed cobblestones and have no artificial dams or bridges. If the ground happens to be soft, in rainy weather they become sticky and are difficult to travel.
3. Mountain roads for tilted carts, for the most part natural paths. It is impossible to travel on these roads in ordinary vehicles.
4. Mountain paths, extremely narrow and dangerous, with steep turns. These paths can be traversed only on foot or horseback. In the winter they are covered with snow and become impassable.

Of the roads enumerated above, the macadam roads, which normally bear regular automobile traffic, are of particular importance. Food, mail, merchandise, and passengers are transported mainly on these roads. Roads are of great importance in the economic reconstruction of Armenia. Unfortunately some of them have greatly deteriorated, and there is serious need for new roads.

As explained elsewhere, the Soviet Union believes itself forced to limit importation in order to stabilize currency. In consequence, there are practically no privately owned and operated automobiles. It is doubtful if more than fifty machines are to be found in the entire republic, and practically all of these are used for government purposes. As a result the wear and tear on road bed is relatively slight. Practically all transport is effected by springless ox-carts called furgons. In and about the cities passenger traffic is mainly by phaetons, spring carriages drawn by horses. Such automobiles as are now in use are very old and in bad repair.

Except along the main military roads travel and transport of goods is difficult and slow. It seems probable, however, that with the economic development of a given section, highways connecting with main centers will be improved and fast-moving vehicles introduced. Already a few auto-bus lines have been instituted and it is expected that others will be developed.

Besides the lack of automotive vehicles an obstacle that hinders the rapid development of transportation is the present lack of skilled mechanics. There is nothing in the Armenian psychology to interfere with the rapid education of a trained group of drivers and repairmen. Courses are now in existence for the instruction of young men in handling automobiles, trucks and the tractor.

A final difficulty, perhaps the most serious, lies in the lack of standardization of machines and the great scarcity of spare parts for repairs. At present many machines are idle for long periods of time owing to the fact that there are so many makes in operation and no reserve of spare parts. Until a few makes have been concentrated upon and adequate repair service developed, practically no real progress can be expected.

Under the Soviet régime telephone and telegraph lines have been rapidly expanded and radio installations set up throughout the whole Union. Since this phase of governmental activity is under a Union Commissar and since Armenia is very much an isolated outpost station of the Union of considerable military importance, these phases have been developed much more rapidly than would have been possible had Armenia been truly independent.

Imports and Exports

In general, throughout the Union foreign trade is in Union hands. Armenia, therefore, is not concerned with international dealings. Internal trade theoretically is free, both within the Republic and within the Union. Actually the government controls through trusts and coöperative organizations a very large part of both wholesale and retail trade.

Owing to the fact that Armenia is an integral part of the Union it is difficult to discover the amount of exports and imports from and to other parts of the Union. A large part of the exports are mineral products, wines and liquors, and cotton. Among the imports are cereals and almost every type of manufactured goods.

Armenia is becoming much more nearly self-sufficient. Attempt is being made to stimulate this. The Union policy is that raw materials produced in a given region are to be converted into manufactured products in the same region as far as is possible.

While theoretically Armenia has no trade outside of the Union actually there is some leakage of goods across the borders.

Agriculture

By far the largest part of the population is engaged in agriculture, there being approximately 800,000 villagers, or about 85 per cent of the total population. About one-tenth of the territory is either marsh land or bare mountain-side; another tenth is in forests; over half is pasture land, either near the villages or in the highlands and on the mountains; about one-quarter being under cultivation. The following table describes the various available lands of Armenia. It does not include the area under the waters of Lake Sevan.

	Acres	*Per Cent*
1. Lands in small holdings, such as vegetable gardens, door-yards	40,000	.5
2. Orchards, vineyards and small fruits	30,000	.4
3. Plow lands: (a) Irrigated	240,000	3.2
(b) Not irrigated	1,490,000	20.1
4. Hay lands	190,000	2.6
5. Pasture lands: (a) Near villages	1,840,000	24.8
(b) Highland summer	1,580,000	21.5
(c) Highland winter	420,000	5.7
6. Forests	880,000	11.9
7. Unusable lands such as marshes and mountains	690,000	9.3
GRAND TOTAL	7,400,000	100.0

Arable lands (the sum of items 1 through 4) amount to about 2,000,000 acres, or less than 2½ acres per villager. However, if the non-irrigated plow lands are eliminated the average is less than .7 acre per capita.

Since the revolution land-holding has in general been on the same basis as in the Russian Republic. The state is the sole owner of the land,[5] holding somewhat less than 25,000 acres in eight governmental estates, and allocating most of the remainder to various local organizations in proportion to the local population.

The governmental estates are operated mainly as experiment stations. The "Trust" which operates the large estates in other parts of the Union as a governmental producing unit has apparently not yet been established in Armenia.

After the revolution and the nationalistic wars the peasantry took over all available land without regard to fair division among themselves. The government temporarily ratified the distributions, but has been engaged upon the task of redistribution, including the relocation of many refugees and Tartars. About 95 per cent of the land has been delivered to the peasantry and the redistribution is now practically complete.

There are three systems of holdings: (1) Individual holding under a community, with periodic equalizing redistribution. This is the least productive, and involves intermixed strips, frequent transfers of land, etc. The law limits the general redistribution to a frequency not exceeding periods of three full crop rotations. (2) The system of separate, unified, permanent individual holdings. (3) Associations (artels) with joint cultivation of one large plot of land.

To date, the individual allocation has been carried on by local committees in the villages. It is planned eventually that the allotment to individuals will be directly under the Commissariat of Agriculture in accordance with the land laws. The task of settlement on

5 The only privately owned lands in Armenia are 100 acres of garden turned over to the monastery at Echmiadzin. The revenues from these gardens are the main support of the monastery.

the land has been an extremely difficult one, complicated by actual possession, refugee requirements, Tartar and Russian traditions, and the economic needs of the country.

While land cannot be bought, sold, or willed, anything added to the land is private property, including crops, vineyards, fruit trees, and buildings. Land can be rented from a reserve held under the Commissariat of Agriculture or its representative. Subletting by individuals to other individuals is not permitted, however. This reserve is also utilized for further distribution to peasants. Under the original communistic system the hiring of agricultural labor was prohibited. Now, however, peasants may hire agricultural labor.

The arable land of Armenia is roughly divided into four zones:

1. Lower than 3,000 feet. This area provides tobacco, grapes and cotton.
2. 3,000 to 4,000 feet. Used for gardens, orchards and vineyards.
3. 4,000 to 5,000 feet. Devoted to grain culture.
4. 5,000 feet and over. Sheep, goat, cattle and dairying district.

The normal allotment of land to the committees of land-holders is as follows:

Zone 1.	1	dessiatin per person.*
Zone 2.	1¼	dessiatins per person.
Zone 3.	2	dessiatins per person.
Zone 4.	3	dessiatins per person.

* The dessiatin equals 2.7 acres.

The actual allotments, however, are about 50 per cent of normal, except in the district of Novo-Bayazet, where they are approximately 67 per cent. Owing to political considerations, Russians and Tartars have profited at the expense of Armenians, their allotments being generally larger. There are about 160,000 rural holdings, each with an area of from three to six dessiatins.

The lands with sufficient water are about a sixth of the total tillable lands. The yield from non-watered plow land is on an average two- or three-fold the seed sown, and in dry years does not even return the seed. Except for the works completed in very recent years the irrigation systems in Armenia are primitive. They were partly destroyed during the wars and the revolution, but have now been almost entirely restored. Four new systems have been completed for the irrigation of about 21,000 dessiatins. Three other systems are under construction and will be capable of irrigating about 23,000 dessiatins. In addition to these, projects have been under consideration for the irrigation or drainage of approximately 84,000 dessiatins. (This includes the Nansen scheme.) These comprise practically all the land that still can be brought under cultivation. The Union government has assigned 15,000,000 roubles for irrigation works in Armenia during the next five years. This sum is not nearly sufficient.

The only economic answer for Armenia is an extensive increase in the productivity of land and an increase in per capita allotments. This can only come first through intensifying the culture of land already cultivated, and second through watering all the arid land adapted to cultivation and reclaiming the marshes.

A fair index of the relative importance of the various types of agricultural endeavor is the following table of estimates of gross income from agriculture.

	Thousands of Pre-War Roubles *	
	1924	*1925*
1. Soil Tilling	20,616.0	21,291.3
2. Animal Husbandry	6,149.7	8,754.6
3. Poultry Raising	415.0	460.5
4. Bee Raising	95.2	88.8
5. Raw Silk Production	43.2	99.0
TOTAL	27,319.1	29,694.2

* It is impossible to give a direct equivalent in terms of dollars. In the pre-War period par was 1.945 roubles per dollar, the same as the present official rouble.

As has been stated, half of the area of Armenia is pasture land. Usually the pasture lands near villages are held in common, the *tilled* lands only being individually held. Frequently there are communal herds.

The last pre-Soviet laws concerning summer and winter pasture lands were passed in 1824. All these lands belonged to the nobles and private owners, and villagers paid for the pasturage of their herds. The first step of Soviet Armenia was to permit the Tartars of Azerbaijan to send their cattle to summer pastures on the same basis as Armenians, but with the provision that they must not use lowland pasture. The question of summer pasture is one hundred years old and has always led to brigandage, theft and violence. Now for the first time a peaceful solution is in sight.

The following table shows the livestock in Armenia before and subsequent to the War:

	1914	*1919*	*1922*	*1923*	*1924*	*1925*
1. Large cattle	683,600	229,500	334,200	434,900	482,700	645,800
2. Sheep	1,564,600	470,900	412,200	645,900	792,500	1,160,400
3. Swine	23,600	5,600	8,600	21,200	90,900	34,000
4. Others	92,900	41,600	32,600	37,900	39,200	51,100
TOTAL	2,364,700	747,600	796,600	1,139,900	1,405,300	1,891,300

It is probable that these figures do not include the droves of cattle that the Tartars of Azerbaijan bring in each year for summer pasturage in the Armenian mountains. These number 120,000 large cattle and 300,000 small cattle, and occupy a very large part of the best mountain pasture land.

With the exception of the northern (Lori-Bambak) area the prevalent breed of "large cattle" is inferior, and the system of feeding and breeding tends toward stunting. Milk yields are low as compared with those in the United States, the average yield being below 2,100 pounds a year. Efforts have been made to improve the strains from the standpoint of milk production, beef, and strength for drafting. As yet little progress has been made, but it is evident that with the proper encouragement much could be done. The dairy industry is quite well organized on the production side. This is discussed under the general head of "Coöperatives."

The War and the disturbances following it, particularly the occupation by Turks, almost denuded the land of cattle. Reference to the above table shows that less than one-third of the pre-War stock was left in the country when the Soviet Republic was instituted. In spite of every effort the restocking has only reached two-thirds of the pre-War level. In fact, next to the settlement of population on the land, the greatest agricultural problem has been the renewal of Armenia's herds and replacement of the work animals, including horses. In 1924 there were about 20,000 horses and 20,000 donkeys; in 1925, 27,000 and 24,000 respectively.

Next to cattle-raising the most prevalent form of agriculture is the raising of field crops. The cultivation of grain is the most important of these. The relative importance of the several crops is shown in the following table. It should be remarked, however, that the season 1924–25 was unusually cold and otherwise unfavorable.

	THOUSANDS OF TONS	
	1923–24	*1924–25*
Wheat	109.0	103.6
Rye	3.0	2.4
Barley	69.0	57.8
Oats	.5	1.0
Spelt	5.4	7.8
Millet	1.8	.6
Corn	.5	.3
Straw	446.5	448.7

In the main the methods of cultivation are primitive; the old wooden ox-drawn plow, the stone-shod threshing boat, and hand-winnowing prevailing. In a few of the villages tractors have been introduced, deeper plowing is practised, and mechanical devices are used at harvest time. The use of modern implements is increasing as fast as the machinery can be secured. Yields are low. The total cereal yield is far short of the consumption within Armenia, and it is necessary to import in the neighborhood of 35,000 tons annually from Russia. Crop rotation is by no means general. The prevalent practice of burning dung for fuel, which has existed for centuries,

has impoverished the land and is a material factor in the smallness of the yield.

Another important crop is cotton. It is localized mainly in the region about Erivan and Echmiadzin. The area planted to cotton in 1914 was nearly 30,000 acres. This had dropped in 1922 to less than 1,000 acres, since when it has increased by leaps and bounds to about 43,000 in 1925.

In 1922 the government loaned twelve tons of cotton seed, and 2,000 acres of cotton were planted, producing 548 bales of cotton.[6] In 1923 the Russian Armenian Cotton Association was established for furthering the industry and 11,000 acres were planted and a loan obtained of 435,808 roubles. This credit was extended to the villages in the form of materials, products and seeds for the most part. The 1923–24 crop amounted to 16,000 bales, of which 13,000 bales were received from the villages and the remainder from the state institutions. The 1924–25 crop amounted to nearly 50,000 bales valued at more than three million and a half dollars. Elaborate plans have been made for the future of cotton-growing and dependent industries. Almost two-thirds of the 1924–25 crop was baled and shipped to Russia. It may be added that the Armenian Cotton Committee is not quite an independent Armenian body. It belongs to the type of "united" institutions. There is a superior Cotton Committee for Transcaucasia and a central committee.

Formerly only the poorest grade of tobacco was grown in Armenia. After the return of the refugees from Turkey better varieties were planted with excellent results. In 1923 there were 90 acres of Turkish tobacco; in 1924, a little more than 200 acres, with a yield of 324,000 pounds; in 1925, 400 acres, yielding nearly 500,000 pounds; and in 1926 it was hoped to have under cultivation about 1,400 acres. In 1924 a growers' coöperative was organized, which in 1925 had increased from 22 to 140 members. Since then many experiments have been carried on in various parts of Armenia. It has been found that the best results have been obtained from the lowlands of the Erivan district. The tobacco grown there is of high quality.

Before the War there were approximately 30,000 acres in vineyards. In 1922 there were but 19,000, and this area is said to have represented a "graveyard of vines." Where, before the War, the yield of grapes was from 3,000 to 4,000 pounds per acre, in 1921 it was not more than 500. The area now occupied by vineyards is about 25,000 acres. The yields have shown marked improvement in quantity and quality.

Formerly there were 11,000 acres of fruit trees. During the War these orchards were almost entirely destroyed, being cut down for fuel. There are now fewer than 4,000 acres. Effort is being made

[6] Russian units have been reduced to equivalents in terms of 500-pound bales.

to reëstablish large-fruit growing but a long span of years will be necessary before results can be shown in increased yields. Much experimentation is going on at certain of the government stations.

Poultry raising is found in practically every village. The birds are of scrawny breed and their egg production low. Attempts are being made on the part of the government to improve the strains and to disseminate information regarding care. The estimates of gross income previously cited indicate that progress is slow.

Apiaries are found in a large number of the more progressive villages. Since Armenia raises no sugar the development of bee-keeping is of great local importance. Though the government has made strenuous efforts to increase the national yield of honey it has not been very successful.

Silk production is in its infancy in Armenia. Efforts are being made, particularly in the region near Erivan, to introduce mulberry trees, which are being grown as a state undertaking, and it is planned soon to begin the distribution of these to the peasants.

There is a Forest Department under the Commissariat of Agriculture which administers approximately 900,000 acres of forest land. (Before the War the total timber land amounted to about 1,000,000 acres but large expanses were laid waste.) About 700,000 acres are in real forests. The trees consist of about 50 per cent beech, 20 per cent oak, and the rest of other varieties. The Forest Department has now several specialists and special permission is required for all timber cutting in the forests.

All commercial transactions are handled through the Forest Trust of Armenia. This agency deals in firewood, construction material, charcoal, railroad ties, and has undertaken the manufacture of furniture and other wood products.

A great deal is being done to advance agriculture in Armenia. In addition to extensive experimentation on government farms from which seed and stock are distributed, there are the rudiments of a veterinary service which undertakes suppression of epidemics and inspection of imported cattle and of slaughter-houses. It is at present in its initial stages, but a good beginning has been made both as regards system and technical staff.

Industry

In the early days when Czarism held sway the entire country was exploited for the benefit of the Russian empire. Individuals were heavily taxed and industry was practically neglected. With the revolution came communism of an extreme sort (the so-called "military communism") which completely negated private property. The re-

sult was chaos. Out of this grew a realization that at least for a time extreme communism could not be practised. Nationalization of industry was instituted and with it came organized industry. With the inception of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921, which permitted individual initiative in industry, production revived and industrial life began anew.

Armenia has never been an industrial country. Such organized industries as are to be found within her borders are mainly of relatively recent origin and to a large extent have been placed there by the Union authorities. Industry is of two kinds: that based on agriculture, and that springing from mining and the utilization of mineral products.

Much of the industry based on agriculture is local, and to a surprising degree individual. Most of the flour mills are small and individually owned. They are scattered throughout the valleys wherever a small water-course affords sufficient power. They are very primitive, yet seem to serve the region adequately. Owing to the difficulties of communication and to the localization of consumption, it is probably the most efficient system that could be evolved. Prior to Armenia's entrance into the Soviet Union during a period when flour could not be obtained from outside, five electric and two gasoline-driven mills were built. Only two of these are now in operation.

The dairy industry will be discussed under the general heading of marketing. The manufacture of butter and cheese is carried on by the associations of dairy farmers.

Wherever there are herds there is slaughtering. It is mainly local, though in Erivan and Leninakan cattle are driven in and butchered in government-operated slaughter-houses. A Leather Trust has been instituted for the commercial utilization of hides. Since the hides of animals butchered in the villages are usually utilized locally, the supply of material for the Leather Trust has been so scant as seriously to impair its operations—this, too, in spite of the fact that the Trust enjoys a legal monopoly in purchasing its raw materials. As far as could be ascertained, there are but two small factories, only one of which has been electrified.

The cotton industry is being particularly encouraged. A very large establishment is being constructed in Leninakan. It consists of five factories, all of which have been built and most of which will soon be equipped with spindles, looms, and the other devices necessary to the industry. About 1,000 persons are now employed in the part already in operation. A considerable portion of the labor supply is made up of former inmates of the Near East Relief orphanage. It is estimated that when the establishment is completed about 18,000 workers will be employed. Unfortunately the machinery is of old design, apparently built in England in 1912. This is to be the main

cotton-manufacturing plant in Armenia. It is not at all certain that this plant can be efficiently run. With other than modern machinery and with no assurance of an adequate supply of raw cotton, the problems confronting the management are huge. Back of this establishment lies an extensive system for preparing the raw cotton for manufacture. In 1923 two cotton-cleaning factories were established in Armenia. A large receiving and grading station has been set up at Sardarabad, together with an oil-pressing factory with a capacity of 36,000 tons of seeds, and a soap factory with a capacity of 180 tons. An elaborate program has been prepared expanding the present number of gins.

Tobacco manufacturing will never be very important. It would be highly desirable, however, to have cigarette factories developed near the centers of tobacco cultivation. There has been but one of these in Armenia.

The production of wine and liquors is an important industry. Before the War there were many factories for the manufacture of wines, cognac and alcohol. (Armenia at that time was the largest cognac-producing region in the whole Russian empire.) Since the War both foreign and domestic markets have been curtailed and production has decreased. The industry is mainly in the hands of the state trust "Ararat," a very large concern having a market over the whole of Russia and in other parts of the Near East. The output in 1923–24 was 175,000 gallons of wine and 75,000 gallons of rectified alcohol; in 1924–25, 330,000 gallons of wine, 75,000 gallons of cognac, and 145,000 gallons of rectified alcohol. Its net profits are very high, constituting a significant contribution to governmental income.

Prior to the War orchard products were canned and shipped to other parts of Russia in large quantities. With the decrease in fruit production that has come with the destruction of the trees, the canning industry has diminished materially, if not almost disappeared.

The mineral resources of Armenia are said to be extensive, though as yet they remain practically unexploited. The main mining operations and factories are located at the deposits of copper ore near Allaverdi and Katar. The former, located in the northern portion, produces considerable amounts of sulphuric acid, blue copperas, copper pyrites, carbide, etc. It is undergoing reconstruction and has its own hydro-electric plant. The latter, located in south Armenia in the Zangezur section, is also being reconstructed, but is greatly handicapped by lack of skilled labor and insufficient electric power. But little information is available regarding the output. Both at present are using mainly old stores of ore. It is expected that the yearly amount of copper produced will soon amount to 10,000 tons.

Practically no other mining is done, though there are undoubtedly many deposits which could be worked profitably. There is a large

amount of quarrying for building purposes, stone and adobe being the main building materials.

There are other lines of industry which are pursued but none of them are very extensive or important. The only other one worth mentioning is construction. As rapidly as is possible building is progressing, a major part of it consisting of repair, reconstruction and replacement.

An extensive part of the Soviet plan for industry is the electrification of plants. Indeed, under the guidance of Lenin the electrification of agriculture has also been projected on a large scale. Engineering estimates of the available hydro-electric power in the rivers of Armenia is as follows:

	Horse-power
Zanga	123,900
Arpa-Tshai	15,550
Arna-Tshai	13,500
Liarni-Tshai	6,650
Araxes	44,700
TOTAL	204,300

The first and second of these are already being developed. On the first, near Erivan, a power station has been completed at a cost of about $750,000. It now generates 600 horse-power and can be expanded at small additional cost to generate 5,600 horse-power. It already supplies light to the whole of Erivan. On the Arpa-Tshai a combined power and irrigation project is well under way, the irrigation portion having been completed. This power project will run extensive mills at Leninakan and supply light to a large number of neighboring villages.

Ninety per cent of all laborers are members of trade unions. There is considerable over-supply in almost all branches and unemployment has been increasing. The reasons given are: (1) Constant influx of refugees from abroad; (2) demobilization of the army; (3) discharge of orphans from institutions; (4) migration of poor peasants from villages to large towns; (5) influx of unemployed from neighboring republics. The following figures are given as indicating the trend:

	NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED		
	Males	*Female*	*Total*
October 1, 1924	1,430	622	2,052
January 1, 1925	1,342	509	1,851
April 1, 1925	1,664	619	2,283
July 1, 1925	2,521	1,340	3,861
October 1, 1925	3,302	1,702	5,004

There is nothing to indicate that the employment situation has at all improved since October, 1925, the latest date for which figures are

available. Throughout the portions of Armenia visited the unemployment situation was an ever-recurrent topic of conversation.

Marketing

Two conflicting forces are at work in Armenia which affect marketing. The first is the government attempt to organize under coöperatives or under trading corporations the purchase and sale of all commodities; the other is the traditional trait of Armenians to engage in individual trading. While the former is highly organized and is developing rapidly, Armenia is and probably for a long time will be much behind many other parts of the Union as regards combined trading.

In the rural districts most transactions are conducted through barter. Agricultural coöperative societies have, however, been organized and are steadily gaining ground. The roots of some extend back to pre-War days.

There are three types of agricultural coöperative societies: (1) Associations of dairy farmers; (2) agricultural credit unions; and (3) other forms of agricultural coöperative unions. The first control practically all butter and cheese factories. However, of the 71 such associations on October 1, 1925, only 54 were engaged in production. The general concentration is in the northern cattle-grazing region.

The deficiencies of the productive activities carried on by the coöperatives are due to (1) extremely poor equipment and the necessity of working in antiquated buildings ill-suited to the use to which they are put; and (2) the lack of skilled craftsmen. Marketing of the products is done through the Union of Armenian Agricultural Coöperatives (Aygyukhkop) or through the Dairy Coöperatives Union.

In spite of the fact that these organizations have expanded rapidly, the public markets of cities and larger towns are conspicuous institutions, resembling the bazaars of other Near East countries filled with small booths from which retail purchases of a large variety of kinds are sold by individuals for personal gain. Open markets are prevalent where the country folk sell their produce from furgons, the springless ox-carts. In the towns many private shops are found where goods or services are dispensed. These are all in direct competition with the semi-governmental coöperative shops. Indices of the present status of private and public trading enterprises are available but poor.

Education

Education in the sense in which the term is used in the Soviet Union reaches into every phase of life. The whole success of the new régime rests upon the complete re-education of the body politic. Offi-

cial figures on illiteracy show that in 1897, 91.5 per cent (10 years of age and over), and in 1922, 78.9 per cent (8 years of age and over) were illiterate. Further, those who were literate, having been educated under a strictly capitalistic system, require completely new education if they are to function as constituent elements in an entirely new régime based upon purely socialistic principles. The double task has been undertaken of eliminating illiteracy and of training a citizenry in the ways of communism. This is pursued under government auspices through the Commissariat of Education, and under the Communist Party through various subdivisions of its organization. It is extremely difficult to separate the functions of the two. Roughly, it may be said that formalized education in schools falls within governmental scope and that most of the activities of the Communist Party are of the less institutionalized sort.

The administration of education in Armenia is under the control of the Commissariat of Education. The Commissar of Education . . . and the Assistant Commissar of Education . . . are in charge of educational work throughout the Republic. Educational work and administration are highly centralized in this department. Although efforts have been made to stimulate initiative and responsibility in the various districts the leaders at this time of reorganization come from the high officials of the Commissariat of Education.

Farsighted and definite plans have been made for the development of education throughout the Republic. . . .

Some of the difficulties which have had to be met are lack of funds, an inadequate number of teachers and poorly-trained teachers. An asset is the very genuine and universal love of education for which Armenians have been noteworthy. This has made it possible to enroll large numbers of adults in educational courses, especially during the winter.

All employees and laborers are members of unions. These unions are responsible for the removal of illiteracy among their members. The young men, who are taken into the army, receive instruction in the elements of education in addition to their military training. The department for the welfare of women is getting educational results through the organization of Education Societies among women. Wherever there is a school it is used for adult instruction in the evening during the six months of winter.

The Commissariat of Education has three sections which take care of its three chief activities.

I. Social Education. This takes charge of the general education of children between the age of 3 and 17 years. . . .

II. Professional Education. The work of agricultural schools, teachers training-schools, industrial schools and all other vocational schools come under this division.

III. Division of Adult Education. The work of this division includes the political education of adults and the general education of illiterate adults. It has charge of the educational work in clubs, unions, theatres and village centers.

The Commissariat of Education has complete control over the preparation and publication of textbooks. During the past few years there has been frequent revision of textbooks, to bring them up to date. This has entailed a considerable expense, because textbooks have had to be replaced before they were worn out. It has also put a heavy load on the government printing offices which have hardly been able to keep up with the demand for textbooks. All books must be printed in the new orthography, which is a simplification of the old Armenian alphabet.[7]

Formal education through a school system is highly organized in theory. It consists of: (1) The kindergarten, attended by children 3 to 8 years of age; (2) the four-year elementary school, theoretically for children 9 to 12; (3) the "seven-year school" consisting of the four years of elementary training with three supplementary years of vocational instruction; (4) secondary education consisting of five years additional to the four elementary years; (5) the "nine-year school" made up of the four elementary and five theoretical years (really a combination of (2) and (4) for experimental purposes); (6) the "technicum" for the extension of the vocational training; (7) higher education following the technicum or the final theoretical years into university or technical schools; (8) special schools and courses; (9) other educational organizations. These units of the system will be considered in their order.

(1) *Kindergartens.* Prior to its inclusion in the Soviet Union Armenia had no kindergartens. Between 1920 and 1923, fourteen kindergartens were established, and by December 1, 1925, there were twenty-one. On this last date there were 1,625 pupils, of whom 707 were boys and 918 girls. In the earlier years they really are crèches. There are eighty-six teachers, all but three of whom are Armenians. Their education is not high but has improved through the years. All are women. The vast majority of the children are Armenians. The development of kindergartens has been handicapped because of the local custom among the peasantry of utilizing the children's help in the home. Propaganda, however, is rapidly showing the adults the value to the children of early school training.

(2) *Four-year elementary schools.* Theoretically, elementary education is compulsory, but dearth of trained teachers and the poverty of both government and populace have made the compulsory feature relatively ineffective to date. The "complex" method of teaching is in vogue. It does away with the teaching of separate subjects, and substitutes instruction by "aspects," the various subjects being taught incidentally. There are complexes by seasons and by years. Each complex has three aspects—nature and natural aspects, labor aspects, and social aspects. The labor aspects constitute the "doing" phases,

[7] From a preliminary report submitted by Mr. George Wilcox. Much that follows on education was obtained from this document.

and are either actual performances in schools, or observation of performances elsewhere. Nature and natural aspects are based on observation of nature at work, while social aspects consist of analyses of the social group in relation to the various subjects of the complex. The progression by years is on the basis of social groups, the first year being devoted to the family and school, the second year to the village and its relation to the family, the third year to Armenia as a whole, the fourth year to the Soviet Union and "society."

The complex method was started first in Moscow under the guidance of Lenin's wife. It was adopted in 1924 by Armenia. Owing to the difficulty of securing efficient teachers, the general system of complexes has had to be materially modified, though some of the complexes are general throughout the whole Soviet Union. Language differences have made it infeasible to bring teachers from other parts of the Union. A further huge difficulty has been the dearth of textbooks. The new system introduced in 1924 rendered obsolete the textbooks then in use. In consequence new volumes were hastily struck off from the government presses, and these have had to be revised to fit the needs of practical teachers. In each of the four years the national language, social science, natural history and mathematics are taught as the complex, twenty-four hours each week being devoted to them the first two years. In the last two years art (singing and drawing), together with Russian, are taught, when trained teachers are procurable. For children who are not Armenian the curriculum also includes Armenian to the extent of four hours a week. These supplementary subjects are at the expense of the complex. The total number of hours per week for each of the years is twenty-four.

In Armenia in 1923 there were 600 elementary schools, 84 city and 516 rural, while in 1925 there were 724. Of these 724 schools now open at least 317 (probably almost half) have been set up since the Soviet régime.

Schools of this type are primarily the village schools, over 85 per cent of them being located in rural communities. (It should be borne in mind that the population is about 80 per cent village-dwelling.) The recently developed schools have almost invariably been located in small communities. The 1925 enrollment of pupils was 66,830, a material increase over previous years.

There is a predominance of male pupils in practically all racial groups, particularly among the Moslem Turko-Tartars and the primitive Yezids. A pronounced disproportion of the enrollment is Armenian. More than one-quarter of the pupils are reported to have been born in Turkey.

Although theoretically the ages of pupils in the schools of this group are from eight to twelve, the average age (11.7) is almost as

high as the latter figure, and in some instances the pupils are over eighteen years of age. This situation is transitory.

In 1925 the teaching staff for this grade numbered 1,816, of whom 1,179 were males and 637 females. Of these, 1,662 were Armenians, 90 Turko-Tartars, and 42 Russians. There has recently been a marked increase in the number of Turko-Tartar teachers. Only 38 of the teachers in 1925 had had training beyond junior college, and 349 had no more than elementary education. All teachers are unionized, and cause must be shown for their discharge. This has made very difficult the task of improving the quality of the teaching staff. However, younger teachers of more recent training are being introduced rapidly. Approximately one-third are engaged in supplementary work to eke out a livelihood.

There has been a policy of allotting land to the schools. Of the total 724, in 1925, but 92 have no land, the rest having distributed among them about 7,500 acres. Approximately one-tenth of this is cultivated by the school, about half being rented out and the rest lying fallow. It is eventually planned that the schools themselves shall utilize the land in the practical part of the complex. As a part of the production phases, coöperatives have been established in nearly half of the schools.

(3) *The seven-year schools.* Since 1923 there have developed seven-year schools which combine the four years of elementary training with three years' continuation. They are usually located in towns and cities, and exist primarily to finish the schooling of those who must immediately enter some trade or go into agriculture. It is felt that for some time to come a large part of the school population cannot go beyond three years of secondary education. The plan of instruction in the first four years is identical with that in the elementary schools. In the non-vocational work the complex method of teaching is pursued through the entire seven years. The vocational courses, which begin with the fifth year, do not utilize the complex method and are highly practical in nature. Textbooks in technical subjects are decidedly lacking, many teachers having to prepare their own courses. Further, there is dearth of good teachers.

In 1925 there were fifty such schools with a total enrollment of 15,310 pupils, 8,926 males and 6,384 females, and 559 teachers. Of the pupils enrolled 10,789 were of the elementary grades, and 4,521 in the final three years.

The proportion of Turko-Tartars in these schools is low, partly owing to the fact that as yet this element of the population is not prepared for more than the four years of education. There are many indications, however, that further educational privileges will be furnished as soon as they can be utilized.

The teaching staff consisted of 357 men and 202 women. Forty-seven were members of the Communist Party.

Over 500 acres of land have been allotted to schools of this group and coöperatives have been largely developed.

(4) *Secondary schools.* In 1925 there were nine schools of strictly secondary grade. These really extend for five years beyond the elementary grades. No elementary instruction is given in them. All are located in the cities and largest towns. They follow the bilateral division into technical and non-technical subjects. Official figures indicate that in 1925 the enrollment was 2,440, with 153 teachers. Practically all students and teachers are Armenians.

(5) *The nine-year schools.* In late 1925 a nine-year school was instituted as an experiment. It operates under the Dalton plan and covers in its curriculum the full nine years of non-technical training. There are 19 teachers (10 men and 9 women) and 222 pupils (133 boys and 89 girls). Owing to the fact that the survey was conducted while the schools were not in session, it is impossible to make any statements regarding the results of the experiment.

(6) *The technicum.* Following the four-year elementary and three-year vocational courses which constitute a large part of the seven-year schools, there have been organized technicums which are supposed to carry the student through vocational stages up to the specialized training that is afforded by the university and the higher technical schools. They parallel the two final years of secondary non-technical training and two years of work in junior college.

(7) *Higher education.* In Erivan is located the State University of Armenia containing faculties of technology, pure and social science, agriculture, and medicine. Further, there are various technical schools devoted to industrial arts, painting, music, teacher-training and similar courses. All are in process of development and little can be said about them. A description of the enrollment as of December 1, 1925, is given in the following table:

INSTITUTION	ENROLLMENT		
	Total	*Male*	*Female*
State University of Armenia	1,187	739	448
Technology	171	154	17
Pure and Social Science	502	319	183
Agriculture	298	179	119
Medicine	216	87	129
State Conservatory	224	102	122
Workers' Faculties (2)	690	629	61
Teachers' Technicums (5)	415	243	172
Industrial Technicums (5)	515	446	69
Agricultural Schools (11)	1,236	794	442
Technical Schools			
Industrial Arts (2)	188	108	80
Painting (1)	52	40	12
Music (1)	132	56	76
Accoucheurs (1)	54	—	54

(8) *Special schools and courses.* There are specialized courses of various types from evening schools for illiterate adults to advanced schools for members of trade unions. There are also schools for the mentally, morally and physically deficient. Many who need or desire education do not fit into a routine school program, and for these classes have been organized. The government has recently permitted the institution of classes in special subjects conducted by individuals for small tuition fees.

It is particularly interesting to note the large number of schools for the illiterate and barely literate—in 1925–26, 561, with an enrollment of about 15,000. These are primarily for adults.

The political organization of Armenia recognizes the existence of the several national minorities that exist in the Republic, and the educational program includes provision for separate schools for population elements other than Armenian. It is not the plan of the Soviet Union to make all people Russians or nationals of the several republics. In consequence, where the natural segregation of national groups warrants, schools have been instituted which are conducted in languages other than Armenian. They are predominantly of the elementary type, there being but four seven-year schools and one secondary school. It is interesting that four of these five with secondary classes are Russian, in spite of the fact that Russians constitute approximately 2.5 per cent of the population, while Turko-Tartars make up nearly 10 per cent (the Armenians predominate with approximately 85 per cent). The disproportion is very largely due to the lack of educational interest on the part of the Turko-Tartars, to the scarcity of teachers among them, and to the difficulty of adapting curricula and textbooks to the peculiar needs of this minority group.

(9) *Other educational organizations.* The thorough-going scheme of popular education includes the development of clubs, libraries, and village reading-rooms. Club organization is very largely urban, and libraries are mainly rural, though, as would be expected, the predominance of subscribers is among the urban group. The use of the village reading-rooms is very extensive and, with the diminution in illiteracy, is rapidly increasing.

Another activity in the general program of education is the well-founded policy of introducing the agriculturists of the villages to the industrial life and work of the towns and cities through excursions to factories and worshops. It is amusing yet enlightening to see the open-mouthed wonder of the peasants as they watch thousands of spindles producing yarn which they so laboriously make in primitive fashion in their homes, or see the flying shuttles of the power looms which are making the commercial cloths that will replace their home-woven materials.

Those who are guiding the destinies of the Soviet Union realize

that popular education, particularly along industrial, agricultural, and political lines is essential to the survival of the Union. At the same time the policy of national autonomy has been deemed an essential. The task is a very large one, since it requires the extensive and immediate development of adequate facilities, of staffs and of material. In Armenia a great handicap lies in the poverty of the country, both economic and individual. The problem is being attacked in a wholehearted fashion and every energy is concentrated on its solution. Very rapid strides have been made since the institution of the Republic and it is hoped that another decade will see an adequate and well-organized body of teachers, functioning smoothly, in an excellent educational system. Official estimates indicate that by the beginning of the school year, 1933–34, this end will have been achieved. If the aspirations of those in authority are realized the educational system should be without rival in the Near East. These hopes, however, are over-optimistic unless Armenia can benefit by the experience gained in similar attempts in other lands.

Health

The imperialistic and civil wars, with the resulting movements of troops and refugees, completely disorganized such health provisions as had existed in Armenia, and produced epidemics of serious nature.

Since the institution of the Soviet régime heroic efforts have been made to renew and extend the organization of the health department. A splendid fight against epidemics has been waged, the old buildings have been repaired and re-equipped, and a program of public-health work has been undertaken.

The Medical Department is one of the best organized and most effective of the government departments. In order to understand the situation it is necessary to realize that an entirely different system of medical service is in force in Soviet countries from those found in other parts of the world. Although some doctors are allowed to earn their livelihoods by private practice, and many of the government doctors do a limited amount of private practice outside their official duties, in general the medical workers of the country are in government employment and the government through its medical department cares for the sick. Each district into which the country is divided has its own medical department which is a part of the local government and which is also controlled as regards general policy by the Medical Commissariat at the capital. The government doctors and the government hospitals give their services to the people free of charge, if they are extremely poor, or at nominal cost if they have a moderate income, or they are free to charge higher rates if the patients are able to pay more. These fees are fixed according to an official scale and the proceeds go toward balancing the budget of the Medical Department. But they do not cover more than a portion of that budget. Public funds maintained by general

taxation carry the major part of the medical budget, which is, of course in accordance with the Soviet and socialistic theory.

Two other important medical agencies must be mentioned. Even they are organically connected with the Medical Department of the government, The first of these is the Social Insurance Department of the government. All organizations and departments, whether governmental or private, that employ wage-earners or salaried workers are required by law to carry social insurance for their employees. The premium for this insurance varies. The insurance provides benefits for sickness, accident, disability, unemployment, old age, death, widowhood, pregnancy, childbirth, etc. The benefits are not automatically extended to the entire population, but are available for all workers for whom social insurance is being or has been paid. Thus all the laborers and intellectual employees in the cities and towns are insured, whereas the peasants in the villages and the small shop owners and private artisans are not insured. One of the important activities of the Social Insurance Bureau is the giving of medical service to those of the insured who fall sick. The Social Insurance Department therefore has its own medical staff and its own hospitals. When an employee falls sick he gives notice to the Social Insurance Bureau, which immediately sends a doctor and, if necessary, takes the patient to one of its hospitals. During the period of the sickness the Social Insurance Bureau carries the salary or wage of the workers.

Thus a considerable section of the town and city populations is provided for in a medical way. It is not unfair to say, however, that the system is so ambitious and there is so much red tape, that it often partially breaks down and the patient suffers accordingly. There are endless rules and regulations and a complete routine to be carried out. And there is an impersonality about the whole system that results in its not giving more than perhaps 60 per cent satisfaction. If a worker has the money, he is tempted to call a private practitioner of his own selection if his wife or his child is seriously ill.

The second special medical agency is the Railway Medical Department, which maintains a medical service of a very high grade for all of its employees. This service includes doctors, clinics and hospitals.[8]

The following table shows the development of the medical profession from 1922 to July 1, 1926:

MEDICAL PERSONNEL

YEARS	DOCTORS		DENTISTS		PHARMACISTS		ACCOUCHEURS		NURSES.	
	Town	*Dstrct.**	*Town*	*Dstrct.**	*Town*	*Dstrct.**	*Town*	*Dstrct.**	*Town*	*Dstrct.**
1922	84	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1923	76	32	—	—	—	—	18	10	95	48
1924	116	49	10	1	32	2	20	12	106	65
1926 †	136	51	13	2	39	4	34	24	115	68
1926 ‡	152	55	16	4	38	7	37	29	163	93

* District.
† Jan. 1.
‡ July 1.

8 Extracted from a Report by Joseph W. Beach, Managing Director, Caucasus Area, Near East Relief.

It is apparent that, though progress is being made, the supply of trained medical personnel is decidedly inadequate. Although the situation has greatly improved there are still but thirteen surgeons, ten gynecologists, seven eye, and three ear specialists in the medical institutions. It is further true that in general the physicians and practically all specialists are concentrated in Erivan, Leninakan and the larger towns, whereas there are no specialists or but very few in the distant districts, where there is very insufficient medical aid. Thus in the two districts, Megri and Daralagiaz, on July 1, 1926, there were but one hospital, three doctors, five hospital beds, in addition to two malaria stations with twenty-two hospital beds.

Since 1922 Armenia has had a medical faculty as a part of the University of the Republic. The first graduation of young doctors to the number of twenty to twenty-five took place in 1927. There is also a school for accoucheurs from which there have been three classes graduated and which is to be enlarged. There is at present no school for nurses. In 1926 the Commissariat of Health Preservation planned to open a nurses' school in Erivan. Till now the instruction of nurses has been carried on in the Near East Relief Winchester School. This school has already graduated several classes of twenty-five to thirty nurses each. These have been distributed among the medical establishments.

From an institutional standpoint progress has also been made, as the following table shows, though only a thousand beds to care for a million population shows that the situation is by no means satisfactory.

INSTITUTIONAL FACILITIES

Hospitals:	*1913*	*1922*	*July 1, 1926*
Town	8	15	15
District	7	8	10
Ambulatories	—	19	34
Tropical Stations	—	—	10
Venereal Dispensaries	—	—	1
Children's Homes	—	1	1
Pharmacies	?	13	19
Hospital Beds:			
Total	172	1,129	1,051
Town	128	985	792
Village	44	144	259

There are no hospitals in some of the thirty-four districts and also no dentists.

The people's Commissariat of Health plans to increase the number of medical institutions, projecting one hospital of fifteen to twenty cots in each county seat with about two doctors and two to three accoucheurs. In addition it plans to organize clinics in the larger villages and special mobile medical units.

The Soviet government nationalized all existing pharmacies and later on opened many new drug-shops. At present there are thirteen pharmacies in towns and six in the rural settlements. The future will see an expansion of the chain. To enlarge the number of pharmacists, special courses were organized in 1925–26 which turned out twenty-four pharmacists.

Hygienic inspection is carried on by public-health doctors and specially trained school physicians. At the beginning of the sovietization of the country, hygienic conditions were frightful, and much energy was necessarily spent in their improvement. At present there are thirteen public-health physicians, who are charged with general supervision.

Public-health physicians and other physicians, particularly the county doctors, carry on an intensive educational campaign; they arrange lectures and colloquia, and give plays dealing with questions of hygiene. The number of lectures and colloquia read every year reaches the figure of 1,500 to 1,600; the average audience consists of 120 to 130 persons.

The city soviets have departments of hygiene, directing on the spot the business of hygienic supervision and education.

Medical aid for the insured members of labor unions was organized in 1924. It is financed by deductions of 4 per cent from the profits of all establishments and organizations as well as from the salaries of the workers. The following table describes this work:

	1924	*1925*
Number of Insured	52,520	66,224
Number of Hospitalized	3,703	4,996
Per cent Hospitalized	7.0	7.6
Cases treated in Ambulatories	61,408	89,576
Visits to Ambulatories	215,054	309,050

Mention has already been made of the nomad camps in the mountain belt of Armenia where thousands of people flock for the summer months from Armenia and also from Georgia and Azerbaijan. Medical help is rendered them by the medical institutions located in the several districts containing these camps, but the institutions are rather far from the camps, and hence the nomads cannot have the needed assistance regularly. A most important problem will be to give medical assistance to these nomads along their migratory routes and in their camps.

In 1923 a Tropical Institute of Armenia was organized in Erivan for the study of malaria, tropical dysentery, pellagra, Malta fever, sprue, and kala-azar. Its research work is concerned with entomology, helminthology, bacteriology, protozoology and anatamopathology, and in the applied field it undertakes diagnosis, treatment,

and prophylactic measures. Connected with the Institute are ten so-called "tropical" or malaria stations. The work of the stations consists primarily of treatment, but also includes lectures and some research. Theoretically the staff at Erivan numbers 35 but actually only 28. At each station there are about 14 individuals.

A Bacteriological Institute and a Pasteur Station have also been authorized. Now all antitoxin comes from Tiflis or Moscow.

The Union has several Tropical Institutes which rank in size in the order named:

Rank	*City*	*Republic*
1	Moscow	Russia
2	Bokara	Turkestan
3	Kharkov	Ukraine
4	Erivan	Armenia

There are also two small ones in Tiflis, Georgia, and Baku, Azerbaijan, which may be consolidated with the one in Erivan and located in Tiflis.

During the epidemics of typhus, typhoid, and other contagious diseases of the war period, the death-rate was appallingly high, but no statistical data are available. Since 1922, when the epidemics were brought under control, the death-rate has markedly diminished. The figures quoted below are almost surely very unreliable.

Year	*Births*	*Deaths*	*Increase per 1,000 pop.*
1923	29,771	10,048	25.25
1924	38,832	14,500 (app.)	27.00
1925	42,197	15,810	30.00

The following table of morbidity statistics, while also undependable, is significant.

MORBIDITY

	1922	*1923*	*1924*	*1925*
Hospitalized sick	17,989	10,425	11,052	13,737
Ambulatories:				
First visits	261,682	220,067	329,911	470,038
Total visits	621,561	621,400	839,222	1,309,287

Though the epidemic diseases have been subdued, there are many endemic diseases that are rampant. These are malaria, intestinal parasites, trachoma, tuberculosis, syphilis, chronic dysentery, and leprosy.

About one-third of the population of Armenia suffers from malaria, the main cause of its spread being the large area of marsh

land. According to the most recent estimates, the swamps in Armenia occupy an area of about 40,000 dessiatins, the greater part being located in the districts of Erivan and Echmiadzin in the region of the Nansen scheme. The draining of the swamps is characterized by the Health Commissariat as the most important problem in the sanitation of Armenia.

There has been no complete inquiry among the entire population on the subject of malaria, but general observation shows that it is distributed over all Armenia, even in the mountain districts. In the lower districts of the country, such as the districts of Erivan and Echmiadzin, 90 to 95 per cent of the population suffer from malaria, and in the mountain districts 15 to 20 per cent; in all, 300,000 to 400,000 persons. The total number of malaria patients and malarial treatments in all medical establishments for four years follows:

	Patients	*Treatments*
1922	67,799	146,753
1923	58,438	143,689
1924	70,490	196,031
1925	80,530	285,773

The increase in both sets of figures is explained by the increase in the number of malaria stations and posts, and by growing understanding on the part of the population as a consequence of health propaganda. Of the above-mentioned number for 1924 and 1925 of patients and treatments, about one-third of the former and more than one-half of the latter were dealt with in the special malaria establishments.

Besides the treatment of the patients, the doctors at the malaria posts control drainage works and the use of petroleum against malaria. In the winter they organize expeditions to destroy the hibernating mosquitoes and in this work the population actively participates. All health authorities, and especially the malaria stations under the leadership of the Tropical Institute in Erivan, are fighting malaria. Prophylactic measures, such as the prohibition of rice cultivation, have also been undertaken, and the irrigation schemes now contemplated by the government will considerably reduce the marshy areas.

In some areas no malaria stations have as yet been established. For a thorough-going campaign it will be necessary to increase the number of these establishments to twenty, and to enlarge the Tropical Institute, which is the scientific center and director of the struggle against malaria and tropical diseases. Examination of a part of the population proved that 90 to 95 per cent are troubled by one or another kind of intestinal parasites. A wide distribution of medicines is needed, and general hygienic and sanitary conditions must be bettered.

The spread of dysentery is also considerable on account of poor sanitary conditions. The number of cases reported was 1,101 in 1923; 2,221 in 1924; and 4,636 in 1925. At present the drinking water is being examined throughout all Armenia. Only in Erivan and in a part of Leninakan is there a regular piped water supply. In all other places the population uses spring water, wells and river water. Generally, spring water is used in the mountainous part of Armenia and in some villages water is far off. The sources are scarcely ever protected from pollution.

Trachoma is largely confined to two or three districts. There are but few eye specialists and they are centered in towns. Two sanitary detachments have been dispatched to the villages for the struggle with trachoma, and the nurses stationed in the villages are specially trained to administer treatments.

The following statistical registration of trachoma has been noted by the medical institutions .

Year	*Cases*
1922	70,832
1923	2,328
1924	5,225
1925	11,654

Owing to the bad war years, tuberculosis has greatly increased. Examination of a group of 800 laboring men disclosed 2.1 per cent tuberculous. For the struggle with tuberculosis there is one sanatorium containing seventy-five cots, and a dispensary is being constructed in Erivan. New sanatoria should be built and dispensaries organized in the district centers. The number of tuberculous cases registered with medical institutions was 1,413 in 1922; 1,476 in 1923; 3,852 in 1924; and 6,209 in 1925.

Syphilis has spread rapidly in two or three districts. Here examination of several villages indicated that from 4 to 5 per cent of the population are infected, of which about one-half contracted the disease in non-sexual contacts. There is one hospital and one dispensary for syphilitic cases in Erivan, and a dispensary is also being organized in Leninakan. There is an epidermic-venereal clinic in the town. The problem in combating syphilis is to organize clinics in the larger towns from which sanitary detachments can be sent out to afflicted districts. In 1922 there were 2,376 cases of syphilis reported; in 1923, 2,658; in 1924, 1,829; and in 1925, 2,677.

The Soviet régime abolished the registration of prostitutes, because it degraded and greatly limited the personal liberty of the woman. The Women's Department of the Communist Party and other agencies are interested in combating prostitution by furnishing the women a chance to work and organizing them into labor com-

panies or gangs. The sick are hospitalized free of charge. The Board to Combat Prostitution is to be organized soon to provide general guidance in this struggle. Prostitution is not widely spread in Armenia.

Before the War there were 100 lepers in Armenia. The refugee movement increased their numbers. Some of them died, and 20 patients were forwarded to Russian leprosoriums. At present, the number of lepers is probably not less than 100.

Social Conditions

Except where definite specification is made, the following facts apply to the Armenian population. It was impossible to obtain the corresponding data for the other elements of the population in the Republic.

Among the Armenian population the home is an all-important institution. The family is a closely knit group, highly permanent, and the basis of most of the social activity. Though it has some of the elements of the patriarchal system this is not as pronounced as among other eastern peoples. Girls marry young, sometimes as early as thirteen, and usually to men somewhat older than themselves. Marriages are often "arranged" and there is usually considerable care exercised in selecting a mate. Since the activities of women have been largely limited to domestic fields, the girl looks forward to marriage as the entrance to her career. Under the Soviet system, which asserts the practical equality of the sexes, and gives women equal rights and responsibilities with men, the general social attitude toward women is superior to that found elsewhere in the East. The number of births per couple among Armenians is large, but high infant mortality keeps the size of the effective family to about six on the average. Under the Soviet system divorce is very easy. Yet, in the main, the Armenian population does not seek legalized separation.

Though no reliable statistical data are available, death-rates of children are excessively high. Lack of knowledge of hygiene and of infant care, together with poor sanitation, widespread destitution resulting in malnutrition, and lack of medical assistance, result in large numbers of still births, of early deaths and of permanently handicapped survivors.

The ravages of war and the famines which followed have produced throughout the Soviet Union large numbers of orphan children. In Armenia these have been cared for in government orphanages, in the orphanages of the Near East Relief and Lord Mayor's Fund or by relatives. A certain proportion, however, have gone to swell the vast body of homeless waifs, known as the "Bez Prezorni," that

infest cities, towns, and communication lines throughout the whole Union. It is estimated that of the 300,000 strays but 150,000 are receiving care. The rest wander about singly or in bands, gleaning a precarious living in any fashion they can, begging, scavenging, thieving, and even burglarizing. Sometimes, rendered desperate, they resort to physical violence and even to murder. One encounters them on the railroad trains, and in the cities, towns and villages of Armenia. The physical characteristics of most of them show that they are not of Armenian birth; nevertheless, in so far as they remain within the boundaries of the Republic, they are a vital part of its problem. Illiterate, anti-social, depraved, breeders of crime, and carriers of disease, they constitute a serious menace now and for the future. They resent interference either official or individual, and Soviet law makes very difficult the effecting of any plan for their reformation. Existing enactments prevent the individual from administering any discipline and the basic Soviet scheme of self-government of all social groups makes the institution of anything like our reform schools practically illegal. Individually they can be treated as criminals. They cannot, however, be kept in an institution against their will without legal procedure. In most instances when sent to orphanages they have remained a day or two and have deserted to return to their wandering life, taking with them the clothing with which they have been supplied, blankets, and any other saleable article within reach. The only successful work with them seems to have come through finding some latent interest which can become more absorbing than the tramp life to which they have become accustomed. In certain cases mechanical pursuits have seemed to hold sufficient lure.

Estimates given by the Commissariat of Education place the number of orphans in government orphanages at 800. Near East Relief orphanages have contained approximately 6,000. The Lord Mayor's Fund at the time of the survey cared for forty but it is rumored that it has since withdrawn from Armenia. The largest part of the orphans are cared for in the villages themselves by relatives and friends. Without question there is great need for further governmental provision since the American institution is pursuing a policy of withdrawal. Both foreign agencies are functioning only as emergency organizations and are planned to care only for the emergency orphanage problem. The sole permanent provision, therefore, is the government orphanage. This last appears to be run along fairly modern lines. The general policy of all agencies is, wherever possible, to place the children in families rather than to prolong institutional care.

There are three diseases which infect a large proportion of the children of Armenia. In order of prevalence they are: trachoma,

malaria and favus. While not primarily child diseases, they find in children ready victims, leaving blindness, disfigurement, and general depletion of vitality. All are difficult to combat and it appears that the authorities are able to do little more than prevent conditions from growing considerably worse.

While compulsory education laws have been enacted covering the first four years of elementary school, the dearth of teachers and economic pressure have rendered the laws ineffective. In consequence children are employed in unorganized industry and in agriculture. The average family is so near the minimum level of subsistence that the efforts of every member of the family are required for its support. The social program, however, including as it does vocational education, will, when effected, practically eliminate the apprenticeship system which so frequently results in the exploitation of the child.

The Soviet government is definitely opposed to commercialized vice. The licensing of prostitutes, so prevalent under Czarist rule, has been discontinued under the present régime and the exploitation of women is severely penalized. This topic and the prevalence of venereal disease have been discussed under "Public Health." In the Soviet Union children born out of wedlock are not considered "illegitimate," but are recognized under the law and are protected in almost the same fashion as those born in wedlock. There is every indication, however, that so-called "illegitimacy" is by no means prevalent in Armenia, in spite of—or possibly because of—ease of marriage and divorce. As indicated above, Armenians appear to enjoy family life, and there is consequent definiteness and permanency.

In spite of pronounced official hostility to the old Russian state church, the Gregorian congregations continue to function, though materially handicapped by limitations on religious education and through lack of funds. As was stated earlier in this report, the Gregorian monastery at Echmiadzin is the only private landowner in Armenia, holding in fee simple forty dessiatins of land. Aside from this it has little permanent source of income. Under a proletarian system professedly atheistic, the churchman has little economic chance and is under severe limitations. Nevertheless, great loyalty to the old tenets is found, particularly among the peasantry, and in so far as is possible there is popular support of religious activity.

Petty thieving and pillaging, particularly from foreign institutions, seems to be quite common, and there is little in the present situation that tends to education in honesty. This is probably a heritage of the days when privation was so widespread that to survive, the individual seized where he could such things as would keep him alive. Since the economic pressure is still great in very many instances it is hardly surprising that the practices continue. Dealing

in smuggled goods, particularly stockings, the illegal traffic in foreign currency at higher than official rates, and similar offences are not uncommon, in spite of severe penalties.

Responsibility in office seems far higher in Armenia than in most of the other countries visited. Considerable prestige attaches to office-holding and there are many perquisites beside pay. Individual office-holders seem to be drawn from the best elements of the population. Close watch is kept on the conduct of all officials. The Communist Party is extremely jealous of its reputation, and inflicts severe penalties on its office-holding members whose acts bring discredit to the organization.

Since much of business dealing is in the hands of government agencies and since private enterprise is decidedly under suspicion, it would seem that commercial dishonesty is rare. According to western standards the prevalent practice of bargaining and its methods seem frequently to border on dishonesty. Generally, shrewd practices enter into any "deal" with private individuals or with government officials. Granting this as part of the game, commercial transactions are honest and bargains well lived up to.

In spite of the fact that many of the refugee Armenians came from the poppy-growing section of Turkey, the use of opium does not seem to be at all prevalent; nor is there widespread intemperance, in spite of the fact that Armenia produces excellent wine, cognac, and vodka. This does not mean, however, that the Armenians are abstainers. Gambling is not particularly prevalent and is not a national characteristic.

Begging is rare. The communist precepts against charity have received legal sanction and it is now a misdemeanor to beg. This is in sharp contrast to the situation in the rest of the Near East and appears to be in spite of a real willingness on the part of the people to give. One occasionally sees in the dark corner of a city doorway a dim form with outstretched hand. Only one instance was observed during the survey, and that the case of a hopeless cripple. This, of course, does not apply to the "Bes Prezorni," against whom ordinances do not seem to be enforced.

Under extreme economic stress there is little attempt to beautify the towns and villages. One is amazed, however, at the care with which public places are kept clean until he learns that all places directly under the Union Commissariats are protected from defilement under severe penalties. This is particularly noticeable in railway stations and trains.

No statistics of crime are available and would be of little use were they at hand, since the Soviet code is very different from that found elsewhere. Suffice it to say that "political" offenses are the most prevalent and include a large number of acts that tend to

menace general economic stability, such as speculation in exchange and smuggling. All these are severely punished. Crimes against person appear to be quite rare.

The care of dependents is largely left to relatives and friends. Under the system of social insurance, producers receive pensions and medical care is furnished to them. It is planned that eventually all dependents will be provided for out of insurance funds. At present mere doles are given to those who do not promise a speedy return to production. There is scant governmental provision for the insane and feeble-minded. The superannuated receive a pittance which cannot do more than pay for a blanket in a corner of a squalid room and the most meager fare. There appear to be no institutions for the aged. Although blindness (a frequent result of trachoma) is very prevalent, the institutions for the care of those afflicted are quite inadequate. Little is being done to train the blind for work which would make them self-supporting.

It appears that the situation just outlined is due to three factors: (1) the general economic situation within the country which makes it impractical to expend funds on individuals who cannot be returned to production; (2) the theoretical status of philanthropy in Marxian socialism; and (3) lack of expert direction. Out of the past struggle there has developed a certain stoicism toward individual hardship and suffering. In the Soviet Union the well-being of the individual is decidedly subordinated to the good of the whole.

It must be borne in mind that Armenia is predominately rural and that its rural life is that of the village. In the villages during the interlude between harvesting and planting and the respites that come during the agricultural season, spontaneous play in the form of dances and the like liven the dreary monotony. Superimposed upon this there has come into existence under the Communist régime a more or less systematized use of spare time. Most of this takes the form of organized clubs for the villagers, young and old, usually established under the auspices of the Communist Party. Prominent among them are the Young Communists League and the Young Pioneer Movement, the Friends of the Air Fleet, and similar bodies. At least one-tenth of the school-children through secondary grades are enrolled in these. Conservative estimates place the membership at 3,500 in the Young Communist League, and 8,000 in the Young Pioneer Movement. In the towns and cities similar organizations are built around the Unions, practically all of which have their clubs. Many of the Czarist army churches have been taken over for club purposes.

With a population so widely scattered in small communities, commercialized amusement is rarely found. There are two theatres in Erivan, where occasional performances are held. Most of these,

however, are for propaganda purposes and are held under official or semi-official auspices. The cinema is under direct government control and films displayed are usually for publicity. Restaurants are conducted primarily for the business of eating, though sometimes one finds Armenian string bands which play for a brief period during the regular meal hour. The one or two open-air cafés in Erivan were poorly patronized and in no way to be compared with the coffee-houses of Greece, Turkey and Syria.

Settlement of Refugees

It was practically impossible to obtain any definite information regarding the number of refugees that have not yet been settled on the land. That there are numbers of such is undoubtedly true. In 1925, according to the official figures, Armenia received in all 4,174 refugees, of whom 371 came from Persia, about 700 from Constantinople, and the rest from Greece. Since the Armenian government had agreed to receive only about one-third of this number, the situation was extremely difficult. Approximately one-half have been distributed to towns or to villages or to regions where public works are under construction. The remainder appear to constitute the main body of those who have as yet not been cared for. The present plan is to settle them in the general region of the Araxes River, in the cotton-growing section. The government plan involves subsidy with long-time repayment. Several villages are projected. There also has been under consideration settlement of some of the refugees under subsidies from the Armenian Benevolent Union and the British Lord Mayor's Fund, but owing to shortage of funds the British project has definitely been given up. Estimates of cost range from $180 to $225 per person.

There are two small projects under way which contemplate sending Armenians now outside of Armenia to that country for settlement. The first is the building of a village near Erivan to be called New Arapkir, the future population to be drawn partly from Armenia and partly from present residents of the Anatolian town of Arapkir. These individuals are skilled in silk cultivation and silk manufacturing. The funds for this settlement have already been raised in America. The second project will bring picked artisans from Armenian colonies elsewhere for the improvement of the construction and kindred industries in Armenia.

The Nansen scheme contemplated the drainage or irrigation of a very large area for the settlement of refugee Armenians now outside the borders of Armenia. After an elaborate investigation of the conditions both within and without Armenia, and the securing of

Soviet permission for an Armenian government loan to be floated abroad, the scheme lapsed, and there seems little possibility that it will be revived.

There are undoubtedly many Armenians all over the world that would be glad to return to Armenia if they felt that there was any reasonable chance of obtaining more than the barest livelihood. Indeed, many are now sifting into Armenia annually. That country, however, can never become the real national Armenian home until the present area has been greatly expanded. Such expansion could best come through a return of the territory appropriated by Turkey. It is almost certain that these provinces are at present practically unoccupied.

Foreign Agencies

Only one foreign agency,[9] Near East Relief, has succeeded in carrying through a large campaign of work during the Soviet régime in Armenia. Its success has been great. The quality and extent of its work in Armenia make its efforts there an outstanding case of American philanthropy.

At the time of the survey there were still under the supervision of the Near East Relief 16,956 children, of whom 7,130 were still in orphanages at Leninakan and Stepanovan, the balance being in subsidized institutions (4,326), outplaced with subsidies in families (1,392) or outplaced with supervision in families (4,108). The great emergency had passed and the "relief" stage had been succeeded by that of reconstruction. The difficult tasks of bringing the children to the point of self-support and of returning them to society as functioning elements in the social and economic structure were well beyond the experimental stages.

Within the institutions instruction was proceeding in well-directed fashion. In addition to the regular instruction in primary and secondary subjects courses were pointed toward practical education in nursing, agriculture, mechanical and industrial pursuits, general instruction in teacher-training, recreational leadership, and secretarial training. The teaching was done by Armenians in Armenian but under the supervision and guidance of experts brought from America.

Physical care was carried on in splendid fashion under the guidance of Americans whose long experience in these fields had brought the orphanages to a condition favorably comparable with institutions in America. The moral tone was excellent.

In addition to the care and instruction of orphans a large experi-

[9] The only other alien body doing work in Armenia at the time of the survey was the Lord Mayor's Fund. Its undertaking was decidedly limited.

mental farm, located at a distance from the orphanages (Kara-Kala), was conducted under the auspices of Near East Relief. This task was proving too heavy a burden and during the survey was largely discontinued. The extensive acreage was turned over to the government together with some equipment and livestock and the program brought to headquarters to be conducted in conjunction with the agricultural education in the orphanages.

For some time a policy of rigorous reduction in the number of orphans in the institution had been pursued. This outplacing had been proceeding at a greatly accelerated rate during the months just prior to survey, due to the uncertainty of the amounts that would be available for future operations. Thousands of children had already been returned to society either trained for self-support or to relatives who would pledge themselves to care for them. At the time of the survey the work was proceeding rapidly and thoroughly. Two corollary problems existed: the one, that of being sure that the children who went out as self-supporting were certain of continued opportunity under suitable conditions; the other, that of ascertaining beyond reasonable doubt that those sent to relatives would be well cared for physically and morally and not exploited. Outplacing and the resulting supervision of the outplaced required an elaborate post-orphanage program.

The results of the physical, educational and outplacing work were ascertained to be excellent. All the public-health nurses in Armenia were products of the Edith Winchester School of the Near East Relief. Numbers of children trained in the agricultural courses and sent out to villages were already carrying on farming side by side with men who for years had been tillers of the soil. Girls and boys trained in the trades school were in great demand in the shops and factories and were said to be decidedly superior to their fellows who had not had the advantage of the orphanage instruction. Teachers trained in the institution were being welcomed immediately into the education system of the Republic and recreational leaders were finding immediate place in the government recreational program. The same was true of those who had taken secretarial training.

The post-orphanage work was found to have been conducted most thoroughly and ably. The vast majority of children cared for by Near East Relief could not be carried through any of the special courses, due in part to the limited equipment but even more to the financial necessity for retrenchment and consequent early outplacing. Visits by the survey to many villages disclosed numbers of orphans, who had been adopted by relatives, enjoying equal care and opportunity with real children of the family. A few instances appear from time to time where maladjustment is found. These were surprisingly rare, however. It is clear that not only has there been careful inves-

tigation prior to outplacement, but there has been excellent inspection and supervision thereafter.[10]

A remarkable opportunity exists in Armenia for further American effort. The example of the Near East Relief organization has had a profound effect on Armenian educational, medical and vocational programs. Its lead in agriculture has been instrumental in revising governmental plans. That this work, heretofore confined to orphaned refugees, should be extended to picked individuals from the body politic is obvious to one who has been privileged to see the results already achieved. Continuation should be contingent, however, first, on hearty governmental approval; second, on adequate funds to do a superior work; and third, upon the certainty that the very finest personnel can be secured to undertake and carry through the years a truly model program. Opposition or mere toleration by the government would be fatal. Unless the institution is decidedly superior to any in the Republic it will be mere useless duplication.

Integrated with a model institution directed by Americans, there should be a thorough extension program carrying a definite body of practical ideas upward to the official groups and outward to the mass of workers and peasants. There can be no tinge either of religious propaganda, economic or social proselytizing or even lack of coöperation with the interesting experiment being carried on throughout the entire Union. The only agency which will be tolerated is the Near East Relief or its legitimate offspring.

[10] Information received since the survey points toward a continued improvement within the institution and in its related activities.

CHAPTER III

ALBANIA

By C. Luther Fry

Albania [1] is a tiny land of rugged mountains, fertile valleys and swampy, low-lying coastal plains, sparsely peopled by a hardy race that has maintained its picturesque customs and its native language despite centuries of foreign aggression. The smallest country in the Balkans and one of the smallest in Europe, it has a total area about equal to that of New Hampshire and Vermont combined.

Except for a low-lying strip along the coast, the whole country is mountainous, and half its area is more than 3,000 feet above sea level. Scenically the country is very beautiful. In the north, adjoining Montenegro, the mountains are extremely rugged; but farther south the ranges are, as Miss Rose Wilder Lane points out in her *Peaks of Shala,* "like the partitions in a house; steep, high, almost impassable," but "they surround valleys and plateaus of rich level land."

The climate varies from north temperate to semi-tropical; and the rainfall is very heavy for Europe. At Scutari, the records which the Catholic priests have kept for years show that the average annual precipitation is about 55 inches. Farther south it is considerably greater. The abundant rains come almost entirely in the autumn and winter months. As a result, river beds that are completely dry in August become raging torrents a month or two later; and wide areas, especially along the coastal plain, become swamps and stagnant lakes, ideal breeding-grounds for mosquitoes. It is not strange, therefore, that large tracts of very fertile land are entirely uninhabited.

Population

Shkipetars, or Eagle People, as the Albanians call themselves, are descendants of the original inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula. Despite continued aggression by foreign powers, they and their forebears, in their mountain retreats, have for two thousand years main-

[1] A full and accurate description of conditions in Albania cannot be presented, partly because there are many aspects of Albanian life regarding which no information exists. Even such basic facts as the total population, the amount of land under cultivation and the value of the crops raised, are entirely lacking. In the circumstances, the present survey has had to rely primarily upon qualitative rather than upon quantitative analysis. Its information was obtained from sources believed to be reliable.

tained their national customs, language, characteristic dress and even, to a large extent, their independence.

Predominantly an agricultural people, the Albanians' mode of life recalls that of medieval Europe. The villages are usually set on prominent points of the hillsides, with the houses close together, so that the inhabitants can rally quickly to resist attack. The cultivated land and the pastures for domestic animals often lie at some distance from the village. Every agricultural household supplies nearly all its own needs as to both food and clothing. The furnishing of the houses is simplicity itself, and even in the houses of the rich there are no beds, the floor serving as a sleeping place.

Partly owing to the custom of settling disputes by "blood feud" and partly on account of the generally unsettled condition of the country, the Albanians have gained the reputation of being an unruly race addicted to brigandage. During the fourteen years following 1908, when Albania began to revolt against the Turk, the country was in constant warfare. The land was overrun by various armies during the Great War; and after the Armistice Albania had difficulties with her near neighbors. Only since 1922 has relative quiet prevailed. Now that there is a comparatively strong centralized government, blood feud and brigandage are becoming things of the past. In the eleven months prior to August, 1926, there was not a single case of brigandage. It is also of interest that there is no case on record of a woman ever having been molested. If accompanied by women, men will generally refrain from attacking one another.

The population of Albania is not accurately known, but is probably in the neighborhood of 850,000, although some estimates place the total at 1,000,000. The largest city is Scutari, near the northern frontier, with somewhat more than 30,000 inhabitants. Korche comes second; while Tirana, the capital, is third with from 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants.

There are three distinct religious groups in the population. The Moslems are in the majority throughout the country, while the Christian population is divided between Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholics, the former being concentrated in the south, and the latter in the north. The different religious elements live side by side without friction.

Government

Albania was first created an independent nation by the Peace Conference. It is under the special tutelage of Italy. Ahmet Zogu, although a young man of about thirty-five years, is undoubtedly the strongest man in Albania and, with the exception of six months of revolutionary government under Bishop Fan Noli, has ruled

the country for several years, first as Minister of Interior under a regency, then as President under the Constitution. Recent developments have made him king.

The country possesses a sound currency, the more surprising because until quite recently it had none of its own. Instead it relied upon the "hard money" of other countries, particularly upon ten-franc and twenty-franc gold pieces, and upon the silver crown. The twenty-franc piece, known as a "napoleon" and worth about $4.00, is the ordinary unit used in rendering and paying bills. Silver coins are accepted at their intrinsic bullion value. Thus the number of crowns to the napoleon fluctuates with the silver market.

Until the spring of 1926, there was no Albanian money, nor any credit organization. In March of that year, however, the so-called Albanian National Bank with a capital of 12,500,000 gold francs was started by the government, under a concession granted to an Italian banking group in return for an Italian loan. In April, the bank began to issue paper money. According to its charter it must keep a 33⅓ per cent gold reserve against all notes issued.

A large part of the government budget is derived from direct and indirect taxation, particularly from a tax of 10 per cent on the products of each farm. The government does not collect this tax itself but grants the privilege to the highest bidder, a system of collection that easily lends itself to abuses. The government also secures a considerable part of its revenue from customs duties and from monopolies on salt, matches, cigarettes, playing cards, paper, etc. The income from these sources has been pledged as security for the payment of the recent Italian loan. A certain amount of revenue is derived from the state lands. Every year the government has faced a budget deficit. In 1925, it raised only about twelve million gold francs toward a total budget of approximately seventeen million. But the deficit is met by the simple expedient of not paying government employees their full salaries. From the government's standpoint the system has its advantages, because it keeps down the public debt. The budget estimates for the fiscal year ending April 1, 1926, provided for expenditures of 23,102,607 gold francs and for receipts of 23,009,290.

Albania maintains a standing army of about 6,000 men which is recruited through compulsory military service. In addition, there is a special group of gendarmes that not only helps to police the country but is especially loyal to Ahmed Zogu and aids him in carrying out his policies. These military forces are a great drain upon the country's meagre resources.

In considering Albania as a possible field of American endeavor, the instability of the political outlook must be kept in mind. The present government has many enemies. There are envious neighbors.

Because of Serbia's part in the war, Jugo-Slavia received large areas that ethnically belong to Albania. Here is a potential source of friction. Italy, too, covets Albanian territory. Indeed it was only after popular uprisings that she was thrown out of Volona at the close of the War. Even today, Italy holds the Island of Saseno which controls the city of Volona. If the Adriatic is really to become an "Italian lake," there are military reasons why Italy should control Albanian territory. Recently treaties have been concluded that tie these two countries very close together.

Mineral Wealth

Concerning Albania's mineral wealth, little information is available. During the Great War, the Austrians made a survey of the mineral resources of the country; but the results of this study have never been made public. Moreover, certain parts of Albania have never been explored.

Oil has recently been "struck" in the region north of Volona, and the find created quite a furore. Already concessions have been granted by the government to six foreign companies, including the Standard Oil Company. The oil actually obtained is not of a quality to warrant optimism. Drilling must proceed further before any forecast can be made of the future of Albania's oil industry.

Coal has been discovered in several places. There are reasons for believing that Tirana is the center of quite an extensive field, but borings alone will make it possible to estimate the quality and extent of these deposits. The country also possesses at least two beds of iron, one being of considerable size, and it is widely believed that there are copper deposits that might be made commercially profitable. Without a survey the actual facts must remain uncertain.

Albania rivals almost any other country in the world in potential hydraulic energy. Her rivers take their rise at an altitude of from 3,000 to 8,000 feet and run precipitously into the sea. The rivers Arsen, Drin and Devoli are particularly adaptable for the development of hydraulic power. There are two large lakes, Ochrida and Malik, that might be utilized in the same way since both are situated more than 2,000 feet above sea level. A company has been organized to drain Lake Malik, thus releasing a large area for agricultural purposes, and work on this project has already been started.

With the possible exception of oil, the mineral resources of Albania are not likely to be developed rapidly in the near future. As a report of the League of Nations points out, "The mining industry, to an even greater extent than the industries connected with agriculture, requires methods of communications, railroads, harbor installations, etc., suitable for its products; it requires equipment which

Albania cannot produce, and skilled labor in which she is also deficient and finally, a considerable amount of foreign capital." This is a combination that Albania is not likely to possess for some time to come.

Agriculture

The agricultural situation is excellently summarized in Prof. Albert Calmes' report to the League of Nations on the *Economic and Financial Situation of Albania.* His description is given in the following paragraphs:

> The economic life of Albania depends today upon its agriculture.
>
> The output is at present so insufficient that Albania is obliged to import food-stuffs which she could quite well cultivate upon her own soil as immense stretches of good land have been left untilled.
>
> There are no statistics for the cultivated areas. In the case of Northern and Central Albania it is probably the case that only one-tenth of the arable land is worked.
>
> Southern Albania is much better cultivated. Both as regards cultivation and the general level of civilization there is a very considerable difference between this region and the rest of the country, the south being much further advanced.
>
> In the mountains of the north the land is owned jointly by families, the pasturage being the joint property of the tribe. The whole is regulated by laws and traditions of the tribes.
>
> Large feudal estates are to be found above all in the center [Tirana, Elbassan, Berat] and especially in the fertile district Mousakja, which, if rendered healthy and well cultivated, could supply the whole of Albania with cereals.
>
> The most considerable landowner is the state. This land is leased out by the state in the same manner as tithes to fiscal contractors, who pay rent to the state in cash and receive from the tiller of the soil one-third of the product of the land in kind.
>
> The great landowners who do not cultivate their own lands also rent them to farmers, from whom they receive one-third of the product of the land in kind.
>
> The methods of cultivation are primitive. Plows with wooden staves are used and the furrow is seldom more than 20 cm. deep. . . . The farmers are . . . ignorant of the system of rotation of crops.

The raising of cattle is Albania's most important industry. In the mountains, goats and sheep especially are raised, less for flesh than for the milk from which cheese is made and for the wool, hair and hides. Horned cattle are raised in smaller number and they are used mainly for plowing and for other draft purposes. For the most part they are of a degenerate Jersey stock and are useless for beef and milk.

In spite of the large number of cattle in Albania the methods of breeding are bad. The animals are uncared for, without any veteri-

nary attention, and without any attempt at selection. In the mountains there are no cattle sheds, and no fodder is stored for winter. The government now employs a Hungarian veterinary surgeon to give advice.

Albania is rich in fruit trees and might considerably increase her exports by the growing of fruits, if the trees were cared for instead of being neglected. This is also true of the vine. To remedy this situation the farmers require practical instruction and also better stock. As Professor Calmes points out:

> In Albania there are vast stretches of forest the exact extent of which cannot be ascertained in the absence of a survey. The forests are composed of oaks, walnuts, chestnuts, elm and plane trees and in the higher regions, beeches and pines and firs. The greater part of the forests is the property of the state and the communes; only a few forests belong to private persons. This wealth, however, is undeveloped and unexploited. It is thought that there are 5,000,000 cubic meters of wood in the state forests.

To encourage the use of agricultural implements the state has opened several depots where agricultural machinery is sold at cost. The government even advances money to help pay for the machines. The authorities also run three model farms, one at Lushnja, one at Bushati (near Scutari) and the other at Xhaf-Zota (near Durazzo). The work at Lushnja was originally begun as a farm school but this had to be closed.

Industry

Industry has hardly begun to develop in Albania. The few manufacturing plants that exist are dependent upon the products of the soil and are carried on in a most primitive way. Even in milling, which is probably the most important industry, the facilities are insufficient to meet the requirements of the country. There are olive oil factories, but with one or two exceptions these also are small enterprises; and most of the oil from Albanian olives is refined in Italy, the facilities of Albania not being even sufficient to supply her own needs. This industry, especially if it were combined with the recently established soap industry, is capable of decided development.

A few lumber concessions have been granted to foreign companies. Each concession contains a clause calling for reforestation, and the size of the trees that may be cut is also regulated. Last year the exports of finished wooden products amounted to 471,921 gold francs, which was appreciably less than the value of the wooden products imported.

The cheese industry has recently seen a considerable expansion. For example, the exports figures show that whereas no cheese was shipped to America in 1921, the amount shipped in 1925 was worth more than 200,000 gold francs. Salt, which is a government

monopoly, is manufactured in several places along the sea coast; but because of taxes and the costs of transportation the selling price is relatively high, especially in the interior, and none of it is exported. Pottery is the country's oldest industry. Today, as in Roman times, it centers in Kavaje, where there are rich clay deposits. This product also is not exported. There are cement deposits, but they have not been developed.

Among the home industries of Albania are silver-work, weaving and embroidery; but they are of small commercial importance. Since Albania raises many cattle, one would expect the tanning industry to be important; but little tanning is done and only the obsolete oak-bark process is used. This concludes the meagre list of Albania's industries. As to future developments, the situation is summarized in the survey of Albania published by the League of Nations in 1922, which states:

> The development of industry in Albania is not merely a matter of capital but rather of professional education, labor, means of transportation and above all the development of agriculture.
>
> A sound industry must be based upon raw materials actually existing in the country. Until the mining industry develops in Albania, these raw materials can only be furnished by means of agriculture. When agriculture properly so called, fruit-growing, forestry and cattle-rearing are conducted on a more extensive system and can furnish cereals, fruits, olives, tobacco, hides, wood, wool and lime, all the industries based upon agriculture will improve and develop.

Communication

Until recently, there were virtually no highways from one part of Albania to another, and the different communities were in consequence isolated. Politically this has been a great handicap. Recently the government has been making strenuous efforts to improve the situation. The road from Scutari through Durazzo and Kavaje to Rogozina, which originally was hastily constructed by the Austrian army during the World War, is now being repaired. A great bridge over the Mati river is being erected with funds raised by the recent Italian loan; and as the mountainous road from Elbassan to Korche has been finished, it is now possible to motor from one end of Albania to the other. As a result of the recent repair and construction of highways, 150 Ford cars have been sold in Albania during some two and a half years. Even when the work now under way is finished, still other roads will be greatly needed. For example, there are no adequate roads from Albania across the Jugo-Slavian and Greek frontiers. There is one, originally constructed by the Turks for military purposes, which connects Santi-Quranta with Korche; but although this is a fine tourist route with picturesque passes, it is a poor road for commercial purposes.

Albania has no standard-gauge railroads. The government is constructing a line from Tirana to Durazzo, but this is a distance of only forty kilometers. A railway from north to south would be highly desirable politically, but there is not enough traffic to support such a system. During the War the Austrians constructed narrow-gauge railways, known as "Decauville," from Scutari to Durazzo, Lushnja and Berat with branches to Elbassan and Fieri. These lines, for the most part, still exist and are being repaired for use in hauling stone and gravel for highway improvements. It is possible that in the future these "Decauville" railways may be used for hauling goods from one part of the country to another.

The four ports of Albania all need improvements. Boats are compelled to anchor at a considerable distance from the shore, and occasionally, in rough weather, it is impossible for them to land their goods and passengers. There are no Albanian steamship lines. Communication with the rest of the world is carried on by four foreign companies—two being Italian, one Greek, and the other a Jugo-Slav line.

Foreign Trade

The foreign trade of the country is summarized in the accompanying tables taken from the 1925 edition of *Statistika,* which is an official publication of the Albanian government.

The first table shows not only the total value of Albanian imports and exports for the past five years, but also the individual totals for the more important countries. These figures are significant because they show the remarkable strides that Albania has made toward the balancing of her imports and exports. In 1921, the figures showed a loss to Albania of more than sixteen million gold francs. In 1925, this deficit was reduced to four and a half million francs. Estimates for later years indicate that exports nearly balanced imports. Indeed, payments made by Albanian immigrants in the United States to their families at home probably more than counterbalance any adverse trade balance. Clearly Albania is on the up-grade economically.

VALUE OF ALBANIAN IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FOR CERTAIN SPECIFIED COUNTRIES, 1921 TO 1925

Imports in Gold Francs

Country	*1921*	*1922*	*1923*	*1924*	*1925*
Italy	13,175,009	8,389,517	15,953,777	15,462,923	16,386,670
Greece	2,250,193	1,406,337	3,744,141	3,898,801	4,521,759
Jugo-Slavia	334,741	596.020	1,699,314	554,137	708,694
America	——	192,924	63,370	136,338	83,437
All other	2,475,848	1,514,718	1,957,433	437,389	97,851
Total	18,235,791	12,099,516	23,418,035	20,489,588	21,799,411

EXPORTS IN GOLD FRANCS

Country	*1921*	*1922*	*1923*	*1924*	*1925*
Italy	1,613,498	2,036,560	4,910,669	6,378,165	10,051,110
Greece	487,803	532,954	839,449	3,424,814	4,141,065
Jugo-Slavia	88,490	100,611	209,607	306,886	442,998
America	——	133,206	2,061,182	2,255,555	2,429,325
All other	——	158,665	117,010	13,990	58,263
TOTAL	2,189,791	2,961,996	8,137,917	12,379,410	17,122,761

The exports to America, which grew from zero in 1921 to 2,429,325 gold francs in 1925, consist almost exclusively of cheese.

The main items entering as imports and exports in 1925 are included in the accompanying table. One of the most significant facts brought out by these figures is that even today the value of the "small grain" Albania exports is less than half that of the grain she imports.

ALBANIAN IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, 1925

	VALUE (GOLD FRANCS)	
	Imports	*Exports*
1. Livestock	3,780	2,692,915
2. Foodstuffs, (eggs, poultry, cheese, fish, meat, etc.)	12,233	3,775,684
3. Small grain (wheat, rye, oats, etc.)	2,656,800	1,097,627
4. Fruit and vegetables	57,024	2,794,188
5. Seed for planting (fruit and grain)	3,259	62,736
6. Sugar and other sweets	3,423,932	——
7. Drinks (beer, etc.)	185,978	6
8. Tobacco	1,482	129,008
9. Food oil, including olive oil	72,955	2,334,927
10. Skins, and other untanned hides	112,778	1,427,958
11. Tanned leather and other tanned hides	789,688	244,392
12. Finished wooden products	530,930	471,921
13. Paper	423,725	——
14. Cotton and cotton cloth	6,361,042	——
15. Linen, hemp, etc.	419,181	250
16. Wool and wool cloth	753,601	1,231,708
17. Silk and silk cloth	77,906	——
18. Ready-made clothing	171,484	——
19. Rubber goods	328,655	——
20. Inflammable and explosive material	54,527	276,524
21. Porcelain and glassware	608,877	440
22. Metals (chiefly copper)	1,303,300	69,720
23. Machinery	413,855	——
24. Wagons, carriages and boats	708,159	——
25. Musical instruments, clocks, etc.	44,612	——
26. Oil and grease for industrial use, including candles	1,732,543	——
27. Chemical products	492,597	512,757
28. Gold, silver, precious stones	37,283	——
29. Miscellaneous	17,225	——
TOTAL	21,799,411	17,122,761

Education

Judged by western standards, the educational system of Albania, like almost everything else in the country, is extremely primitive. Instruction in the primary schools is of low grade, owing largely to a dearth of qualified teachers. There are few secondary schools and no colleges or universities. Considered in the light of the progress recently achieved, however, the record of the Albanian schools is quite impressive. Instruction in the Albanian language was prohibited under Turkish rule, and consequently most of the people are grossly ignorant. When the Albanian government came into power, it was faced with the tremendous task of starting an educational system without sufficient resources in either men or money. Even textbooks were lacking. In the light of these facts the progress made is surprising.

According to figures provided by the head of the Department of Education, the teachers in the Albanian schools last year totalled 859, of whom 752 were men and the rest women. The pupils numbered 26,851, 22,351 being boys and 4,500 girls. This disparity in the numbers of the sexes is a significant index of a fundamental difference in the popular attitude toward the education of men and of women. The budget available for education is inadequate. The total amount spent in a year was less than two and a half million gold francs, or $20 a child. As the total budget of the Albanian government for the year amounted to seventeen million francs, it is obvious that the proportion spent for education is not high.

The number of primary schools operated by the government was 511. These schools are supposed to give a five-year course of instruction, but few indeed actually do so. Albanian schools are hampered by a lack of teachers. To meet this difficulty, the government has established two normal schools, one for boys at Elbassan, and the other for girls at Korche. During the year 1925–26, there were 148 pupils attending the boys' school and 40 at the girls' school. In addition to the normal schools, there are six government schools above the primary grade. One of these is a commercial school at Volona with about fifty pupils. The remaining schools are of the gymnasium type. Their size and location are as follows:

Location	*Number of Pupils*
Argyrocastro	202
Berat	32
Korche	303
Scutari	60
Tirana	30

All of these schools are operated exclusively for boys. The government does not maintain any gymnasium for girls; it helps to sup-

port at Scutari a Catholic school for girls which has about 300 pupils and includes secondary and normal-school instruction as well as work in the primary grades. In addition, the government assists one of the two Catholic schools for boys at Scutari that are of the gymnasium type. It also contributes to the support of the Albanian vocational school at Tirana. This institution, which was started in 1921 by the Junior Red Cross of America, gives industrial and agricultural training to boys who have finished the primary grades. The course covers five years. The total enrollment is around 165. The first class of twenty-six pupils was graduated in the spring of 1926. The equipment of the school is elaborate. In addition to a farm located just outside the city, the school operates expensively equipped woodwork shops, metal-working shops, etc. The power plant of the school generates electricity not only for the school itself but for lighting the city as well. From the beginning the government has contributed to the support of this institution. It has given land, money and teachers; and it provides sixty free scholarships for the pupils. At present it is meeting about half the total expenses of the school, the other half coming from the Junior Red Cross.

Because there are no colleges or universities in Albania, the government assists Albanians to go abroad for study. In one year $40,000 was spent for this purpose. The system does not appear to work out very well as the boys are often dissatisfied with Albanian life when they return.

This description of the government's educational program does not completely cover the educational institutions in Albania, as there are several other schools not directly connected with the government's educational system. One of these is the large Jesuit school at Scutari, which gives both primary and secondary instruction to some hundreds of students. Another is the day school at Korche conducted by Dr. and Mrs. P. B. Kennedy, which in 1926 gave primary training to some forty girls. This school was formerly operated by the American Board, but is now supported by a group of individuals interested in Albania. At Tirana there is the Kyrias school, which is a secondary school with an enrollment, in 1925–26, of forty-five girls. Recently it introduced a normal course. The teaching staff is Albanian, but the support comes largely from Mr. Charles R. Crane, of America. The school is now building a rather extensive new plant just outside Tirana. Finally, there is the Albanian-American Agricultural School at Kavaje, which gave instruction to about a dozen boys in the spring of 1926, but which did not really get under way until that fall, when it opened a boys' school with forty students and a girls' school with thirty pupils. The boys are being taught farming and the girls home-making. The government has coöperated with Dr. C. Telford Erickson (the American responsible

for starting the school) by giving the land for the school—nearly 1,000 acres—as well as scholarships. According to its charter the school is eventually to be turned over to the Albanians. An old barrack has been rented and fitted over to provide classrooms and a dormitory for the girls' school. A new classroom building for the boys' school was badly damaged by an earthquake in December, 1926. The splendid prospects of the school are seriously threatened by lack of funds.

Health

The health question is one of the most serious that confronts Albania. Because of their poverty and ignorance, the people are undernourished and very susceptible to disease. The three great scourges are syphilis, tuberculosis and malaria. The greatest of these is the last, which is endemic in all the low-lying territory as well as along many of the inland waterways. Every form of malaria is to be found there, and its extent is indicated by the fact that it is the most common disease in both the army and the Albanian hospitals. Tuberculosis, too, is very common, especially the adolescent pulmonary type which affects chiefly the Moslem women, notably in Argyrocastro, Scutari and Kruja. Syphilis is also widespread, whole villages being affected in certain sections. To meet the problems involved, the government has created a National Board of Health with representatives in various parts of the country, while some of the larger municipalities have hired doctors and pharmacists. These services, however, are still very inadequate.

The report of the Board of Health for 1925 shows that there are in Albania only six hospitals, with 225 beds. This is one bed for each 3,500 inhabitants. The hospitals are located at Elbassan, Korche, Permete, Scutari, Tirana and Volona. They were originally established and equipped by the American Red Cross, which went into the country just at the close of the Great War and worked there for several years. Now they are being operated by the Albanians themselves. Efficiency of operation is hampered by inadequate appropriations. In some cases, basic medical supplies are lacking. In view of the difficulties, the physicians and nurses in these hospitals appear to be doing splendid work; but it is obvious that the present facilities are inadequate to meet the needs of a population of 800,000, especially as there are no private hospitals.

Dr. Haigh, in his report of February, 1925, to the League of Nations on *Malaria in Albania,* estimates that there are 100 doctors in the country, including those in the military and civil services. Moreover, these few are almost all in the larger towns, while most of the villages and open-country areas have no doctors at all.

The supply of nurses is also inadequate. The so-called nurses of

Albania, like those of other parts of the Near East, are not generally of a high type. Thus, the Lady Carnavon's Fund, which started a training-school for nurses at Volona, has had trouble in getting the right sort of girls. Fortunately the American-trained nurses introduced by the Red Cross at the close of the War set a new standard. Now, the Albanian Red Cross, in coöperation with the League of Red Cross, is planning to start at Tirana a school that will give nurses in training practical experience in the Tirana Hospital.

Women suffer more than men from lack of medical attention, because, as a rule, Mohammedan women will not let male doctors attend them. Girls marry at an early age and are very young when they begin to bear children. It would seem that a few women doctors could perform a great service in Albania.

Malaria—Albania's worst scourge—is inadequately cared for in every part of the country. It is not fully controlled even in the army, and elsewhere it is left to chance. Dr. Haigh, in the conclusions to his report on *Malaria in Albania,* states:

> The provision of quinine is inadequate in all the services because of insufficient state and municipal budget appropriations. The sale of quinine is uncontrolled as to price and quality and is restricted entirely to pharmacies in towns. The widespread diffusion amongst the rural population, both of the disease and of mosquitoes, indicates that the use of quinine would be of far greater value than attempts to control anopheles breeding. It is estimated that quinine would be required for the curative treatment of 16,000 people, if the present endemicity is to be reduced in any one season.

In all Albania there is not a single sanatorium for tuberculosis patients, although in the mountains there are ideal spots that might be used for this purpose. Little or nothing is being done about syphilis.

The American Women's Hospital has become so impressed with the health needs of Albania that it has recently sent two workers there to start public-health and anti-malaria work in coöperation with the Albanian-American School of Agriculture at Kavaje.

Refugees

Albania is confronted by the problem of harboring thousands of refugees. This situation has arisen because at the Peace Conference large territories with Albanian-speaking populations were included as a part of Jugo-Slavia. It is believed that the number of Albanians living just outside the borders of their native country is nearly as large as the population within. The "outside" Albanians are naturally reluctant to accede to the demand that they become citizens of Jugo-Slavia and are therefore returning to their native land in

considerable numbers. In addition, certain Mohammedan Albanians, who had sought refuge in Turkey, are now coming to Albania because of the insistence of the Turkish government that they either become citizens or leave the country.

Albania is doing what it can for the refugees who arrive, but its available resources are not adequate to meet the needs. The government has not only opened malarial stations to care for refugees but has given them land for farming. It has been unable, however, because of its financial condition, to provide the farm implements, the seed corn, the food and the shelter that a destitute family must have before it can be made agriculturally self-supporting. It is true that in a number of cases the government has promised to give each refugee family twenty napoleons in gold ($80.00), in addition to its grants of land, to meet just these needs; but few have received the full amount promised them.

Private philanthropy has contributed comparatively little toward the solution of the refugee problem. Lady Carnavon's Fund is doing some work, and it is stated on good authority that the Save the Children's Fund is planning to build in the near future a "model" village for Albanian refugees. So far no help has come from the United States.

CHAPTER IV

BULGARIA

By C. Luther Fry

Bulgaria is a small land of wide valleys separated by lofty and rugged mountains. Its total area is less than 40,000 square miles, or about the same as that of the state of Ohio.

The country lies north of the fortieth meridian, and its climate is temperate. The mean annual rainfall is 26½ inches, which compares with 43 inches in New York City. The average altitude which is about 1,400 feet above sea level is decidedly influenced by a relatively small area of high mountains. Thus it happens that 70 per cent of the territory lies at less than 1,600 feet above sea level and is susceptible to a high degree of cultivation.

Population

Estimates for the year 1926, based upon the Census of December 31, 1920, give Bulgaria a total population of 5,105,800. The density is therefore 128 persons to the square mile, which is three and one-half times the average for the United States, but approximately the same as that for all Europe. About 4,200,000 of the people are Bulgars, more than half a million are Turks, and the remainder are chiefly Jews. Most of the inhabitants belong to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. The priests are paid by the state and also receive regular fees for services at burials, weddings and certain other ceremonies.

The capital, Sofia, had a population of 154,025 according to the 1920 Census, but the place is known to have grown very rapidly since that time, and the present population is about 250,000. The city is supplied with modern public buildings, a municipal water system, electric lights, street cars and taxis, and has an up-to-date appearance. The second largest city is Philippopolis, the ancient home of the father of Alexander the Great. In 1920 its population was 63,415, but it is believed to have grown since then to nearly 90,000.

In 1924 the number of towns and cities of more than 5,000 inhabitants was placed by the government at sixty-seven. The great

bulk of the people live in the smaller towns and villages, of which there are approximately 5,700, and the vast majority of these villagers are agriculturists. This is a fact of much social significance, because it means not only that Bulgaria's economic life is now mainly dependent upon agriculture, but that it probably will long continue to be.

Bulgaria is largely a nation of small landowners, nearly every family owning its own house. Indeed, in no other country of Europe is the ownership of land so widely distributed. An elaborate survey of pre-War conditions, made by Dr. K. G. Popoff, showed that nearly three-quarters of the heads of families in the cities and 97 per cent of those in the rural districts owned their own homes, and since that survey was made, these proportions have probably increased.

A Bulgarian farm is generally composed of a number of scattered fields. Statistics show that in the entire country there are nine million fields which are owned by 500,000 farmers; an average of eighteen fields to a farm. Often these fields are widely scattered. Pasture and grazing grounds are owned in common.

Bulgaria, then, is a land of peasants who live in small houses and till small farms. The predominant type of village house is built of sun-dried bricks, and is white-washed inside and out. The rooms are usually small and overcrowded, people and animals living in close proximity. There are few conveniences in the home. To a considerable extent each peasant household is a self-contained economic unit. The Director of the Bulgarian Statistical Office is the authority for the estimate that half of the population "supports and clothes itself, feeds its cattle and meets its household requirements out of their own production without recourse to trade."[1]

The ordinary daily routine of a Bulgarian farmer and his family is thus described by R. H. Markham, long a resident of the country.

> They leave their little homes at daybreak, men, women, children and babies, and with their oxen carts, plows, scythes and hoes slowly wend their way to fields and meadows from one to three miles distant. Arriving there, mothers untie the babies from their backs and fasten their little hammocks to the branches of trees scattered throughout all Bulgarian fields. . . . The men plow, scythe, mow and plant. The women hoe the corn and harvest the wheat. After the day's work is over, the mothers tie the babies onto their backs and they all trudge home again. On reaching there they milk the cows, look after the stock, eat their supper and lie down on their mats in time to get a meager night's rest before rising next morning early enough to start work by daybreak.[2]

1 Russell, *Schools in Bulgaria.* Teachers College, N. Y. C. 1924. Pp. 3–4.
2 Markham, *Bulgaria of Today and Tomorrow.* Sofia, 1926. Pp. 19–20.

Government

Bulgaria was created as a separate kingdom in 1878 when through the efforts of Alexander III of Russia, she was freed from the Turk after five centuries of Moslem rule. The government is a constitutional monarchy, the present ruler being Boris III, an unusually democratic king. The legislative authority is vested in a single chamber known as the National Assembly whose members are elected by universal manhood suffrage. Each session of the Assembly is for four years, but the King can dissolve it at any time. Laws passed by it require the consent of the King. The executive power is vested in a Council of Ministers nominated by the King. This cabinet is composed of the heads of the following ministries: Interior, Education, Justice, Commerce, Finance, Public Works, Posts and Railways, Foreign Affairs, Agriculture, and War.

The present government is confronted by unusually difficult problems, both internal and external. During the past fifteen years the country engaged in long and disastrous wars, and recently had to face within its own borders a crisis amounting virtually to civil war. In 1912 Bulgaria joined forces with Serbia and Greece against the Turks. As soon as this war was successfully concluded, Bulgaria, following a fatal diplomatic blunder, was herself attacked by her former allies (subsequently joined by Roumania) and was forced to sign the unfavorable Treaty of Bucharest which gave to Roumania a fertile area near the mouth of the Danube known as the Dobroudga, and which also gave Bulgarian-speaking sections of Thrace and Macedonia to Greece and Serbia. During the Great War, Bulgaria threw in her lot with the Central Powers, and as a result of their defeat, lost to Greece and Serbia still larger portions of Macedonia and Thrace, besides having to agree to the payment of huge war indemnities. The irritation caused by these terrible national defeats, together with Bolshevist propaganda and a general post-war restlessness, led to class-hatred and strife that several years ago assumed the dimensions of civil war between the people of the cities and of the villages. Fortunately these troubles have now ceased.

Under the circumstances it seems encouraging that lately Bulgaria has succeeded in virtually balancing her budget. Total receipts for the fiscal year 1925–6 were 6,355 million leva, compared with expenditures of 6,445 million. As recently "pegged" by the government, the value of the lev is 138 to the dollar. The largest item of expense—1,235 million leva—went to the Ministry of War to support the army of 20,000, which is the maximum allowed by the Peace Treaty. Before the Great War, military service in Bulgaria was compulsory. The peace-time strength of the army was about 60,000 officers and men, while the war strength approximated half a million.

The Treaty of Neuilly abolished obligatory military service, and to prevent the formation of a reserve army, it was even stipulated that service in the ranks must be for a minimum period of twelve years, while newly appointed officers must serve for at least twenty years. It is interesting to note that in place of compulsory military service, Bulgaria has developed a system of compulsory labor service for young men and young women. In 1923 the total number of recruits that actually served amounted to more than 50,000, of whom about three-fourths were put to work at agricultural labor. Another budget item approaching that spent by the Ministry of War is the sum expended for the Public Debt which amounted during the fiscal year 1925–26 to 1,204 million leva.

On January 1, 1926, the internal public debt of Bulgaria aggregated 5,097 million leva or 37 million dollars while the external debt equalled 897 million paper francs or roughly 45 million dollars, and 653 million gold francs worth about 160 million dollars. This latter figure, which is the combined cost of occupation and reparations payments, does not include the huge sum of 1,700 million gold francs, approximately 425 million dollars which according to the Treaty of Peace is the balance of the Reparations Debt, but which will not be demanded from Bulgaria before April 1, 1953, and which will bear no interest. In addition there is a loan of 23 million gold francs outstanding, which is not considered as a public debt because it was granted to the Agricultural Bank of Bulgaria. According to the present schedule of payments, the total reparations debt will not be paid off until 1983. After 1934 the payments will total more than 8 million dollars annually for the next fifty years. This is a discouraging outlook for a poverty-stricken country, but thus far Bulgaria has made strenuous efforts to meet its treaty obligations.

On the whole the political situation, while better than a few years ago, is still far from satisfactory. Taxes are heavy; the country is surrounded by hostile neighbors, and is also faced with a serious refugee problem. The government has been connected in the public mind with the National Revolutionary Committee—a sort of super-Ku-Klux-Klan—which is committed to the policy of supporting the Macedonian "irredentists." This affiliation has served to bring suspicion on the government in the neighboring states of Serbia, Greece and Roumania, especially as there have recently been several minor border incidents. The unsettled political outlook has naturally influenced the economic situation.

Economic Conditions

Bulgaria's economic life is dependent on agriculture and stock-raising. It is known that there are deposits of minerals of various

kinds; but with the exceptions of coal and copper they have not been utilized to any extent.

The country's present output of coal and copper in comparison with pre-war totals is shown in the following tabulation:

Year	*Coal* *	*Copper* *
1913	353,271	17,174
1923	1,063,662	23,983
1924	1,214,840	25,916
1925	1,219,570	28,270

* Production in metric tons.

These figures make it clear that coal production has increased very rapidly. Over nine-tenths of all the coal produced comes from state-owned mines, and over 80 per cent from the state mines at Pernik which have a capacity of about 5,000 tons a day. Formerly these and other state mines were under the direct control of the Ministry of Communication, but in the spring of 1925 the Pernik mines were removed from the direct control of this ministry and placed under the charge of an autonomous institution governed by a board of directors nominated by the Council of Ministers. The change is believed to have improved the administration of the mines. The ownership of coal mines is an asset of increasing value to the state.

With the exception of coal and copper, the mineral resources of the country are being developed only by local interests in a small way. Oil shale is known to exist in several localities and concessions for the drilling of wells have been granted, but oil has not yet been "struck." Bulgaria also has valuable tracts of timber which are exploited under the direction of the Bureau of Forestry.

The country's Black Sea fishing interests were seriously affected by the emigration of a large proportion of the seafaring Greeks; but the government has shown itself anxious to restore and develop this industry. It established a fishery school at Varna five years ago, and another at Sezopol in 1925. A number of students have already been graduated from the Varna school.

Except for mining, industry in Bulgaria is but little developed. Figures for 1922 show that in the entire country there were 1,544 industrial concerns employing 55,431 persons. The value of the raw materials used was 2,893 million leva, while that of the finished products was 4,527 million. It is significant, however, that under the encouragement of high import duties, manufacturing enterprises are rapidly increasing. If this industrial development continues, Bulgaria will later supply most of her own needs from her own factories.

The factories are mainly engaged in the manufacture of agri-

cultural products—tobacco factories, tanning mills and concerns for the production of rose oil being the most important. Textile manufacture leads among the non-agricultural industries, and a high protective tariff is helping local producers to meet local needs. It is worthy of note that Bulgaria has not only adopted modern measures for the insurance of the workers but has ratified all the conventions recommended by the International Labor Bureau.

One of the most important developments in the industrial field is the coöperative movement, which started about twenty years ago and has grown very rapidly, especially since the Great War. Today there are more than 2,600 coöperative associations in the country, and they are conducting a great many different kinds of enterprises, including tobacco factories, fruit-drying plants, electric-lighting plants, banks, storehouses, brick and tile factories, mills, etc. The movement is fast becoming a dominating factor in the economic situation. The Minister of Agriculture expressed the belief that ultimately the whole industrial structure of Bulgaria will be in the hands of the coöperatives.

Agriculture

The basis of Bulgaria's economic life is agriculture. The supreme importance of farming is indicated by the 1920 Census, which showed that of the 4,794,950 persons whose means of subsistence were definitely ascertained, 3,634,896, or more than three out of four, were directly dependent for their livelihood upon agriculture, gardening, tree-culture or cattle-raising. When it is remembered that most of Bulgaria's industries are by-products of agriculture, it becomes obvious that the country's prosperity is dependent upon the harvests.

Statistics for agricultural production are as follows:

Item	*1914* *	*1924* *	*1925* *	*1926* *
Wheat	625	771	1,351	1,147
Rye	155	112	226	193
Barley	194	173	319	250
Oats	110	107	148	155
Corn	776	693	715	742
Potatoes	16	49	66	49
Sugar Beets	190	400	16	300
Tobacco	13	44	41	45

* Production in thousands of metric tons.

Wheat and corn, it will be noticed, are the main staples supporting the Bulgarian population. In 1925 nearly 45 per cent of the total area under cultivation was devoted to wheat. Tobacco is largely raised for export, and within recent years has become Bulgaria's most important article of foreign trade. Total produc-

tion in 1926 was more than three and a half times the 1914 amount. The industry, however, is in a condition that leaves much to be desired. It has been suffering acutely from overproduction, a heavy burden of taxation and severe and increasing competition from Greece and Turkey. To relieve the situation, the government, in 1925, halved export duties and later decided to release the crop from all taxation. Already this legislation has had some beneficial effects.

The beet-sugar industry, like the tobacco industry, has recently gone through a bad depression followed by an improvement. Because of the drop in sugar prices, and the refusal of the government to grant a bounty on exports and to increase import duties, it was felt to be unprofitable to carry on production, and in 1925 the manufacturers closed down and the peasants grew no beets. Later the government raised the import duties on sugar and production has again been resumed.

During the last ten years wine production has more than doubled, but the product is only of average quality, the industry being hampered by the fact that there are very few first-class wine cellars in the country.

The Bulgarians are noted gardeners. Each year farmers, especially from the district around Tirnova, go to Russia, Germany, Roumania, Hungary and other countries to grow vegetables. These men, who work in groups, leave in the spring and return in the fall, their families remaining in Bulgaria and producing the seeds to be used the next year. While abroad, the men rent land, raise crops and sell them. The profits or losses of the season's work are divided among the members of the group, according to their experience in gardening and their part in the enterprise. Salesmen naturally receive more than unskilled laborers. The number of men taking part in this annual exodus has of late years shown a tendency to decrease.

In addition to agricultural products, Bulgaria raises domestic animals. According to the last census, there were in the country on December 31, 1920, 1,877,108 cattle, 412,978 buffaloes, 8,922,604 sheep, 1,331,853 goats, 398,240 horses and 1,089,699 pigs. After 1922 Bulgaria delivered large quantities of livestock to her Balkan neighbors in part payment of her war reparations. This resulted in a shortage of animals. It would seem, however, that the shortage has been largely made up, particularly as the official figures for 1925 show an appreciable increase in the number of animals exported.

The methods of cultivation employed in Bulgaria are primitive in spite of the fact that machinery is being gradually introduced. Crop-yields are decidedly lower than in many other European countries. For example, the yield of tobacco per acre in 1925 was only about one-third of the German average. Prof. Ivan Ivanoff, of the field corps of the Agricultural Faculty of the University of Sofia, is

authority for the statement that production in Bulgaria could be doubled. Among other factors he points out that land is not fertilized properly, and that it is not plowed properly nor at the proper seasons. Statistics show that there are hundreds of thousands of plows now in use which are as primitive as those employed at the time of Abraham.

The government is making strenuous efforts to improve the country's agricultural production. For one thing, it has established a number of agricultural schools of different kinds. (These will be described later when the nation's educational system is discussed.) In addition, the Minister of Agriculture is trying to improve conditions by developing agricultural experiment stations, seed farms, and the like. The Central Agricultural Experiment Station is located at Sofia. Other stations have been established at Rutsehuk, Sadova, Plevin and Vratza. In its program for spreading a knowledge of agriculture among the masses, the government has employed specialists known as "agronoms," whose work is like that of farm advisers in the United States. These men advise villagers about such practical matters as the feeding and care of animals, the best methods of grading seeds, etc. They also try to aid farming by promoting fairs, by distributing agricultural literature, and by stimulating in other ways the awakening interest in better farming methods. In addition to the men, there are a few women agronoms who work with village women, teaching them about such matters as the care and feeding of babies, ventilation and hygiene in the home, and the best methods of canning and preserving, etc. Figures for the year 1924 show that the total number of agronoms in service was forty.

The present Minister of Agriculture has been very active in getting across to the common people information about better farming methods. Instead of depending upon the usual means of giving advice through lectures and literature, he has stressed the importance of real demonstration work. He has insisted that his agronoms actually show the peasants how to improve their yields by picking out certain progressive farmers and coöperating with them in applying modern agricultural methods. The work of the Agricultural Department has, however, been hampered by lack of funds. Appropriations for the year 1925–1926 amounted to 251 million leva (less than two million dollars) out of a total budget of 6,445 million.

Foreign Trade

The fact that Bulgaria is still confronted by an adverse trade balance is one of the chief elements of weakness in her present economic situation. The government, however, has sought to meet the

Year	*Imports-**	*Exports **		*Trade Balance **
1911	199,345	184,634	—	14,711
1915	73,495	109,415	+	25,920
1922	4,037,662	4,329,718	+	292,056
1923	5,123,840	3,537,135	—	1,586,705
1924	5,557,311	4,902,226	—	655,085
1925	7,291,341	5,642,466	—	1,648,875

* Thousands of leva.

difficulty by placing restrictions on imports, by raising tariffs and by controlling exchange rates, and these measures seem to have been effective, for during the first nine months of 1926 the adverse trade balance amounted to only 218 million leva, compared with 1,334 million for the same period in 1925. One factor tending to offset the adverse balance is remittance money from abroad. Lately, however, this item of income has diminished on account of reduced emigration to the United States and because of the reduction in the number and earnings of Bulgarians going as gardeners to Russia and Roumania.

The principal articles of Bulgarian export listed in the order of their importance in 1925 are: leaf tobacco, eggs, corn, wheat, wheaten flour, silk cocoons, sheep, cattle, barley, lamb skins, and rose oil. The value of tobacco exports, which is by far the largest single item, represents 41 per cent of the whole, compared with 1 per cent in 1912. Manufactured articles are not exported in quantity, constituting the insignificant fraction of 1 per cent of the total.

The chief imports ranked in their order of value in 1925 were: textiles, metals, machines, instruments, cereal products, hides and skins, wood, oils, mineral oils, paper and paper products, and tanning materials. The value of textiles represents three-eighths of the value of all imports.

By far the largest imports and exports are exchanged with Germany, while Italy ranks second on both counts. Although the general economic situation in Bulgaria leaves much to be desired, conditions appear to be steadily improving.

Communication

The country's economic development has been hampered by inadequate transportation and communication. Figures for the year 1923 show that the total length of railroads was 1,619 miles, of which 1,402 were normal gauge and 217 narrow gauge. Since that time a few narrow-gauge lines have been built. Virtually all the lines are owned by the state. The government long ago evolved a plan for developing its railroads, but the realization of this program has been prevented by lack of funds. Nevertheless, a good deal of work has already been done. The authorities have availed themselves of

compulsory labor battalions to carry forward such work as track-levelling and the building of embankments. The purchasing and laying of the rails, however, has had to be postponed because of the costs involved.

In 1925 there were nearly 13,000 miles of carriage roads, many of them, however, in bad repair. Until recently the Ministry of Public Work had hoped to make considerable improvements in the conditions of the roads, and certain roads around Sofia were freshly surfaced; but later a drastic curtailment of all credits restricted the Ministry's plans. Because of the poor roads and the poverty of the people, the number of motor cars in Bulgaria is still very small. So far as the peasants are concerned, the ox-cart and the horse and wagon are the regular means of transportation.

The two main ports are Varna and Bourgas, both located on the Black Sea. Recently Bourgas has been growing at the expense of Varna, partly because of improved rail facilities.

The only internal waterway of any commercial importance is the Maritsa River, which is navigable for small crafts as far as Philippopolis. Navigation on the Danube is regulated by an International Commission on which Bulgaria is represented. The government is anxious to develop commercial aviation and has actually purchased a number of machines. It would be a decided asset to the country if Sofia were connected with the central European air routes.

Education

Considering the many obstacles which Bulgaria has had to meet, her educational achievements are very creditable. Even under Turkish rule, when there were no public schools for Bulgarians, the people of the country maintained schools through private means. After the liberation in 1878 Bulgaria established a national system of education which is free to all children between seven and fourteen years of age. The influence of this system is indicated by illiteracy figures secured in connection with marriage statistics. In 1900, 43.7 per cent of the men married were illiterate, compared with 19.6 per cent during the years 1919–1921. Similar data for the women show a reduction from 84.3 per cent during the earlier period to 45.3 per cent in 1919–1921.

The educational system itself is well summarized by R. H. Markham in his recent pamphlet, *Bulgaria of Today and Tomorrow:*

> At the present time (1926) there are 5,846 primary schools in Bulgaria with 560,818 pupils and 19,870 teachers. They give a seven-year course which is obligatory and free for both boys and girls. Most of these schools are in the villages, and the greater part of them are carried on in excellent modern buildings under the direction of well-trained teachers. Besides the

ordinary subjects taught in all elementary schools throughout the world, the Bulgarian national schools devote special attention to village life and village needs.

The Bulgarian teachers are well organized and have at their disposal some of the best literature prepared in Europe and America.

There are also 124 gymnasia or middle schools in Bulgaria with 37,762 students, 18,000 girls and 19,762 boys. This year 1,902 girls and 2,186 boys finished the gymnasia and are ready to enter any of the universities of Europe. The Bulgarian youth are very eager to secure an education and in spite of Bulgaria's acute financial crisis go to Europe in large numbers to study. There are more Bulgarian students in the German universities than students from any other country except Germany. A great many Bulgarians also study in Switzerland, Italy and France and not a few in American schools in Constantinople. In all these foreign institutions the Bulgarians have the reputation of being very serious and capable.

Most of the young Bulgarians, however, who wish to get a higher education attend the state university in Sofia, which has seven departments; medicine, law, natural sciences, philology and literature, agriculture, veterinary medicine and theology. At present there are 2,787 students of which 726 are women.

There is also a first-class private university in Sofia and besides these there are normal, professional, business and vocational schools of good quality throughout Bulgaria.

Most of the more prominent scientific and cultural leaders are gathered together in the Academy of Science for which a splendid new building is now in course of construction.

One of the most interesting phases of the educational system has been the development of various types of agricultural schools ranging from elementary to university grade. In a land so dependent upon agriculture this is a vitally important development. The Agricultural Faculty connected with the University of Sofia has already been mentioned as one of seven main departments of the school. Rapid development in this phase of the university's work has been made possible, in part, through the aid of the International Education Board which has contributed money toward the construction of a large, new plant to house the Agricultural Department.

Below the university, there are a number of agricultural schools of more elementary grade, as, for example, the special winter schools which give instruction to farmers' sons over seventeen years of age that have completed the primary grades. The courses begin about the first of November and usually last until the middle of February. These dates permit peasants to take the courses and still carry on their regular farming operations. Tuition and lodging at these schools are free, but each pupil must provide his own food. "Agronoms" do the teaching. The curriculum includes such practical courses as the Bulgarian language, chemistry, botany, agricul-

tural economics, etc. There are agricultural schools for girls as well as for boys. In thirty-three places, for example, the government conducts practice schools that give agricultural and home economics courses to village girls. Instruction covers two years, with practical work on the farms during the summer.

Besides the permanently located agricultural schools, there are moving schools which form one of the chief agencies for agricultural extension work. Operating in each of the rural departments or provinces, they hold short sessions of from one to six weeks in length at various villages within the department, and are attended by both men and women. In addition to the distinctly agricultural schools there are also forestry schools. An elementary school of this kind at Ludjeny, for instance, trains forest rangers and guards, and, in connection with the Institute of Technology at Sofia, a middle school has been developed that gives special instruction in forestry.

Figures for the fiscal year 1925–1926 show that the expenditures of the Ministry of Education were 813 million leva (nearly six million dollars), or about one-eighth of the total expenditures of the government. Agricultural schools, however, are managed by the Ministry of Agriculture and are paid for out of its budget.

A far more detailed discussion of the country's educational system will be found in the monograph by Dr. William F. Russell, cited above. Since the publication of this report, however, the educational situation has undergone several important changes. For example, the government has discontinued grants to communes in aid of "real" schools. The communes, however, may develop these institutions into technical schools which it is the policy of the Ministry of Education to encourage.

Besides the schools maintained entirely by the state, there are schools for racial minorities which the government helps to support. As Dr. Russell points out in his educational survey:

> Bulgaria has within her boundaries a large number of people of other nationalities who are nevertheless subjects of her kingdom. The most important of these are the Turks, Jews and Armenians. These people desire to have their own schools, and the government, while insisting on its right to control all education, permits them to open and conduct educational institutions of their own choice.
>
> The restrictions are that in each school there must be taught the Bulgarian language, Bulgarian history and Bulgarian geography according to the government program of studies, by a teacher who is a Bulgarian subject and who meets all the requirements demanded of other Bulgarian teachers in the public schools. Schools which choose to follow all the government requirements are treated just as government schools, examinations being given in the school, successful graduates receiving all privileges and even public support being given. Schools which follow only the minimum requirements

have no privileges and their graduates receive standing only as they pass the official government examinations. During the year 1921–22 the Turkish schools received government subventions to the amount of 600,000 leva; the Jewish schools 140,000 leva; the Armenian schools 50,000 leva; and all other private schools, 60,000 leva.

There are also several dozen independent schools sponsored by foreign groups. Among the more important are those managed by the French, Americans and Germans. The institutions of the French Catholics constitute the largest group, composed, in 1922–1923, of eight primary and secondary schools with combined enrollments of more than 1400. The Americans have one kindergarten, one primary school and two institutions for more advanced pupils, besides the commercial courses given as part of the Y.M.C.A. program in Sofia.

The kindergarten, which is located in Sofia, is operated by the American Board and was started about twenty years ago. The teaching staff consists of two Americans—Miss Elizabeth C. Clark and Miss Margaret B. Haskell—and three Bulgarian teachers. In 1926 the enrollment was 110 pupils. The children pay tuition of 150 leva a month. The American Board supports the school to the extent of paying the salaries of the two American teachers and also contributes a small additional grant. In connection with the kindergarten is a training school for kindergarten teachers which has been in operation since the school started and has at present fifteen girls in training. This work has been a factor in getting the Bulgarian government to start kindergartens.

The primary school is also operated by the American Board under the direction of Mrs. Lyle D. Woodruff. The enrollment is about ninety pupils. In addition to Mrs. Woodruff there are three Bulgarian teachers on the staff. The work of the school covers five grades. Tuition is 200 leva a month. The school has recently moved into the new Community House at 8 Boulevard Buxton, Sofia.

At Lovetch, the Methodists operate a girl's school of the gymnasium and pre-gymnasium type. This institution was originally started in 1880. The enrollment in the fall of 1926 was 220. The faculty consists of four American teachers in addition to Bulgarian teachers. Miss Edith Perry is in charge. Recently the accommodations of the school were doubled by the construction of two new buildings. Nevertheless the school still has to turn away about one hundred girls. At present the institution is not recognized by the government, which means that a graduate could not enter the University of Sofia without examination.

The American School at Samokov was started in 1860. Until lately it has been under the direction of the American Board, but now has a separate board of its own. In 1926 there were 319 pupils, with an equal number of boys and girls, and 150 more were turned

away. The school was formerly two schools—one for boys and the other for girls. The pupils pay 13,000 leva a year—slightly less than $100. The course of training which has recently been increased to six years, prepares students for the university. The buildings now used are very old, but recently 166 acres of new land were acquired a few miles outside of Sofia where it is planned to erect a new plant. When the school moves into its new quarters, which should be in the near future, a model farm will be started where boys can receive practical agricultural training. The financial position of the school has been greatly strengthened by a recent bequest from the Hall estate amounting to more than $400,000.

Public Health

Malaria and venereal diseases are particularly prevalent in Bulgaria. Because cases of malaria do not have to be reported to the authorities, accurate figures showing the number of persons affected are not available; but there is convincing evidence that the disease is widespread. It is known to be a scourge in many places, especially in the Varna, Philippopolis and Vidin districts. During 1924, the government inspected 19,898 school children in malarial districts and found that 6,411, or nearly one-third of them, were suffering from the disease. In 1925 about one-tenth of all villages in Bulgaria—537 to be exact—were declared by the medical service to be infected with malaria. During the same year 97,545 people were registered as being sick with it. This figure fails to include the large number who did not register. The economic importance of the disease is indicated by the fact that in Bulgaria malaria is one of the limiting factors in the production of rice.

To fight the scourge, Bulgaria created, in 1919, a Malarial Inspection Service which in many places distributes quinine at government expense. Although quinine has been used quite successfully for curative purposes among certain compulsory labor battalions, its use as a preventive is infrequent, and would seem to be the next important step in the fight against this disease.

Venereal diseases are very widespread. Their prevalence is indicated by the work of two anti-syphilitic divisions created in 1922. These units examined 52,566 persons in the Vidin and Vratza districts and found 7,093 cases of syphilis, a ratio of nearly one in seven. In certain villages, 61 per cent of the population were found to be syphilitic.

The government has established wards for venereal diseases in the hospitals of Sofia, Plovdiv, Vidin, Pleven, Tirnovo and Varna. In addition, there is an anti-venereal dispensary attached to the Alex-

ander Hospital at Sofia. During 1924 more than 12,000 patients were examined in the venereal departments of these hospitals.

Tuberculosis is also prevalent, and although not the menace it has become in other parts of the Near East, there are places like Haskovo where it is said to account for a large percentage of all the deaths. Data recently collected by the government from all towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants show that in 1925 the average death-rate from tuberculosis was 29 per thousand deaths from all causes. This is several times the average rate for the United States. The government has established several tuberculosis sanatoria, and also maintains tuberculosis branches in some of the hospitals. At Sofia there is an anti-tuberculosis dispensary which is maintained by the Anti-Tuberculosis Society. The authorities have encouraged the development of school colonies for tubercular children and have even rendered assistance to a few of the families of tubercular patients. These facilities, however, are inadequate.

The three most serious infectious diseases in Bulgaria are typhoid fever, scarlet fever and diphtheria. In 1924 typhoid fever reached epidemic proportions, more than 7,000 cases and 800 deaths being reported. The reasons for the alarming spread of the disease are lack of sanitary conveniences in the homes and of drainage facilities in the villages and towns. Drinking water is often contaminated. The government is making serious efforts to combat the disease, as is indicated by the fact that, in 1924, more than 135,000 persons were vaccinated.

Scarlet fever is also widespread, the number of reported cases in 1924 being 7,466, of whom 1,360 died. Every nine years this disease has assumed an epidemic character, outbreaks occurring in 1905, 1914 and 1923. During the last epidemic year the number of reported cases reached 15,585 of which 2,935 died. The ignorance of the people in matters of hygiene is an important factor in helping to spread disease.

In 1924, 1,505 cases of diphtheria were reported, of which 228 were fatal. Typhus still occurs but is steadily decreasing, only 197 cases being recorded in 1924, compared with 6,697 in 1917. Dysentery is not very prevalent, but measles and whooping cough are the most common diseases among children.

Infant mortality in Bulgaria is startlingly high. Of 196,942 babies (excluding stillbirths) born in 1921, the number that died during the first year was 31,076, a ratio of one in six. More recent figures indicate that the proportion is now one in five, which is two-and-one-half times the American rate. The deaths of children under one year of age represent 30 per cent of all deaths in Bulgaria.

The following table gives the births and deaths for specified years. Data for the earlier years are taken from the *Statistical Annual* issued

by the government, while the more recent figures were supplied by Dr. Roussi Raskoff, of the Bulgarian Public Health Department.

Year	*Births* *	*Deaths*	*Excess of Births Over Deaths*
1911	179,563	94,127	85,436
1921	196,942	106,224	90,718
1924	198,782	102,085	96,697
1925	191,080	97,035	94,045

* Excluding stillbirths.

These figures show that despite the high rate of infant mortality the country's excess of births over deaths is rapidly approaching a hundred thousand a year. In a country of five million inhabitants this means a natural rate of increase of nearly 20 per cent a decade, which is about twice the American average.

Medical assistance to pregnant women is given at the Sofia Maternity Hospital, in the obstetrical departments of other hospitals, and in the ambulances. The great majority of deliveries, however, take place in the homes under the care of midwives, of whom there are 1,227 in the country. Of this number several hundred are in the employ of the state Within the last few years the Bulgarian school for midwives has been put on a comparatively adequate basis.

Figures supplied by the Health Department reveal that the number of doctors in Bulgaria is 1,166. This is approximately one doctor to every 4,300 inhabitants, and compares with one to every 730 inhabitants in the United States. The majority of the doctors are attached to the government, fewer than three out of eight depending on private practice. They are disproportionately concentrated in the larger cities, as is indicated by the fact that one-third of all the doctors in Bulgaria live in the Sofia district. In 1925 the total number of dentists was 251; of veterinary doctors, 239; and of pharmacists, 372. Besides the regular doctors, there are 1,735 "feldshers." These are men with a certain amount of medical training, and may be compared to orderlies. They are no longer being appointed to governmental service; but there are still rural sections where they are the only available medical practitioners.

One of the few valuable effects of the Great War was the creation of a demand for doctors and nurses. In 1918 a medical school was organized in connection with the University of Sofia which now has about 500 medical students of whom 15 per cent are women. Prior to 1918 all the physicians in the country had received their medical education in Russia, Germany, Austria or France. One advantage of this foreign training is that most of the doctors are well trained.

According to figures supplied in November, 1926, by the Bulgarian Public Health Department, there are in the country 113 hospitals

with 6,792 beds, or an average of one bed to every 750 inhabitants. Medical facilities are largely concentrated in the hands of the state, as is indicated by the fact that of the 6,792 hospital beds now available, 6,052 are in state hospitals and 40 are in municipal hospitals, leaving only 700 in private institutions.

The total number of available hospital beds is likely to leave an over-optimistic impression of Bulgaria's hospital facilities. On the whole, the hospitals are poorly equipped and poorly organized. The attitude of the common people is one factor in the situation, since the average peasant thinks of a hospital as a place where people go only to die. The government is also hampered by lack of funds. The relative amount of credits allocated to the Health Administration has been steadily declining. In 1919–20 they represented 5.3 per cent of the general state budget; in 1923–24 the proportion was 3.3 per cent, and in 1925–26 it fell to 2.6 per cent. The amount of money actually expended by the Department of Public Health in 1925–26 was 169 million leva or roughly one and a quarter million dollars. These funds are not adequate for the purpose.

The work performed by the hospital service in 1924 is summarized by Dr. Ivan Golosmanoff in his report to the League of Nations:

> The medical attendance open to the people of Bulgaria consists of (a) consultations in the ambulances; (b) medical treatment at home; and (c) hospital treatment.
>
> In 1924, the number of patients seeking advice in the out-patient departments in the hospitals was 136,399, in the communal ambulances 330,235, or in other ambulances 72,464, making a total of 1,290,843 cases (as compared with 1,389,604 in 1923). No statistics are available of the patients treated in their own homes.
>
> In 1924, the number of patients treated in the state hospitals was 100,388 (as compared with 76,486 in 1923), the number of days of treatment was 1,103,748 (as compared with 1,296,797 in 1923); the average number of days of treatment per case was 10.95. . . .

One of the outstanding health needs of Bulgaria, so far as personnel is concerned, is for more trained nurses. Figures for the year 1925 show that there were only 165 nurses in the entire country. The Red Cross hospital at Sofia is the only one that has night-nursing service. In the sense in which the term is employed in America, there are many hospitals in Bulgaria that have no "nursing service" at all. To help meet the need for nurses, the American Red Cross has contributed the services of Miss Hazel A. Goff to direct the Bulgarian Red Cross School of Nursing. At present this school has forty-seven nurses in training. The expenses of the school are met by the fees of the patients served. The school has had difficulty in getting the right type of girls to attend, because the nursing profession in Bulgaria, as in other Near East countries, is looked down upon. The general

attitude is illustrated by the fact that prior to March, 1926, the government, which classifies all state employees according to their education and importance, placed nurses below midwives and "feldshers" in the category with servants. No wonder Miss Goff found difficulty in inducing girls of the better class to come to her school.

The Rockefeller Foundation has also been assisting in the solution of Bulgaria's health problems. This organization recently sent a group of doctors to the United States to study American methods of dealing with health problems, and has provided a total of fifteen scholarships to enable young men to obtain medical training abroad.

Social Conditions

The outstanding social problem in Bulgaria is that of the refugees. Before this is discussed, however, certain other social situations should be mentioned. Important social changes are taking place throughout the country. The patriarchal form of family life is disappearing, and coupled with this marked change is a discernible cityward migration of rural people. These are significant developments.

A slow but gradual elevation in the status of woman is also taking place. Women have not yet received the franchise; but it should be recalled that even in America that privilege was granted only a decade ago. It is worthy of special note that women attend school in nearly the same numbers as the men. The strongest women's organization in Bulgaria is the Federation of Women's Clubs, which was started about the opening of the century. Against great odds this agency has worked for the betterment of Bulgarian women, and they are coming to play a more and more important role in the country's life.

Idealistic movements flourish in Bulgaria as in few other countries. Vegetarianism is strong, and the supporters of this movement not only abstain from all meat, alcohol and tobacco, but are workers for individual worth of character and world peace. Closely related to the vegetarian group is the Tolstoy movement, which is strongly opposed to war and oppression. The followers of this cult publish an extensive literature. Other sects, such as that of the "white brother" followers, are even more extreme in their views.

Especially noteworthy is the temperance movement. Generally speaking, the saloon is the center of the social life in a Bulgarian village, and there is a good deal of drinking to excess. The temperance movement is gaining strength, particularly among the young people. The Students' Temperance League has 13,800 members; and the Teachers' Temperance Federation has 820. It is doubtful, however, whether Bulgaria will adopt prohibition, at least in the near future.

There is a rapidly growing tendency to develop organized play. Before the war almost the only athletic groups were the "Younacks." These are bands of men who engage in formal drills patterned after the Czech "Sokols." Since the War, however, the situation has rapidly changed. The scout movement is becoming popular, and football is now a national sport. Athletic fields have been opened in a number of cities. Mr. P. MacGregor Allen, the Y. M. C. A. representative in Sofia, feels that his greatest need is for a playground. Both the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. operate summer camps which have proved very successful.

In Bulgaria both the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. are managed mainly by Bulgarians. In the case of the Y. M. C. A. the only contribution from America is one covering the salary and travelling expense of Mr. P. MacGregor Allen who acts as an expert advisor to Mr. Nichola Alexieff, the senior Bulgarian Secretary. The Sofia Y. M. C. A., with a total membership of 344, occupies very modest quarters but carries on important educational activities. During 1925–26, 523 students enrolled in seventeen classes. The commercial courses are accepted by the Bulgarian Educational Department as of government standard. The organization also conducts nineteen units outside of Sofia with a total of 700 members.

The Y. W. C. A. work, which also centers in Sofia, is being carried on with little outside help. The present organization, however, is a continuation of the work started in 1912 by Miss Grace Saunders of England, but later discontinued because of the Great War. Except for the intermittent services of Baroness Olga Meyerdorff in an advisory capacity, the Y. W. C. A. is run by and for Bulgarians. It has about 300 members, occupies rented quarters, and among other activities, offers courses in millinery, shorthand and languages.

Another American social agency operating in Sofia is the Community Center, which is just getting under way. This organization, which is being developed under the leadership of Miss Elizabeth C. Clark by the American Board, had its beginning in the summer of 1921 when the municiality of Sofia, for a purely nominal rental, gave a valuable piece of property to the Woman's Board of the Congregational Church with the understanding that it start a community service enterprise within three years. Using a legacy of $15,000 which had been donated to the American Board, Miss Clark and her associates planned an elaborate community center with facilities for a day nursery, a public-health center, a hotel for women, classes, etc. At present the building is under a roof, but it will take $25,000 more to finish it. In contrast with the policy of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., this organization is planning its work on a comparatively large scale from the start. Thus far no Bulgarians have shared in the leadership.

Before discussing the conditions faced by Bulgarian refugees, it should be pointed out that there are in the country many non-refugees that are in dire circumstances. The cost of living in leva is now about forty times the pre-war level. This enormous rise has naturally affected the entire population, but particularly government employees whose salaries amount, in purchasing power, only to about 50 per cent of the pre-war level. The budget estimates for 1926–27 contain an item of 350 million leva for increasing salaries, but even this increase will not adequately relieve the situation.

The war veterans are another needy group. The pensions of the veterans themselves vary from $10 to $320 a year, depending upon the disability of the veteran and his military rank. The pensions received by the relatives of deceased soldiers are much smaller. In 1923 the number of such pensions was 144,149. In the same year the number of orphans from the wars of 1912–13 and 1915–18 was placed at 170,000. Of this number only 2,001 were in orphanages and 4,584 more received help outside of orphanages. This situation scarcely needs further comment.

Turning now to Bulgaria's refugee problem, a résumé of the situation is contained in the *Report of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations,* dated June 11, 1926.

Since 1913, Bulgaria, according to the information supplied to the Committee, has had to receive nearly 52,000 families of refugees, numbering at present about 220,000 persons. Of these about 116,000 persons are capable of working. Some 30,000 of these have been definitely established either by the Bulgarian government or through their own resources. Another 25,000 can be established in urban districts by partial assistance from the Bulgarian government, which has already spent 160 million leva on general settlement work. There remain therefore about 60,000 workers who require settlement on the land, representing about 30,000 families or some 120,000 persons including dependents. These refugees are in serious distress, and the mortality will be great, unless effective aid can be given before the winter. They are in a migratory state and move about between town and country, as chance or passing opportunities of work may direct. It is true that a certain number have been provisionally established on hired land, but their presence is a continued source of friction with the local peasant population.

The Committee is impressed with the great advantages which the settlement of these refugees would have: (a) in reducing difficulties in internal politics where the still destitute refugees are the chief source of social unrest; (b) in improving external relations in which the problems arising from the existence of these refugees also play a prominent part; (c) in adding to the economic resources of the country by putting into productive work some 60,000 workers (apart from the families which they support) eminently fitted for agricultural work, who are at present a source of expense and not of wealth, and bringing into cultivation land now unused but easily capable of being made fertile and productive; (d) in assisting the Bulgarian govern-

ment to proceed with the work of reconstruction which it has undertaken, and of which the first results have been the real progress achieved in the last three years in the direction of the re-establishment of budgetary equilibrium and the maintenance of monetary stability, the consolidation of this work being the best means of improving the credit of the country.

As a result of the investigations of the League it was recently decided to raise about 12 million dollars for the purpose of settling refugees. The security for the loan rests upon (1) an excise duty on salt and alcohol, (2) net receipts of the match monopoly, (3) sums received after September 1, 1928, from the refugees in the shape of rent, etc., and (4) other revenues to be assigned if these fall below 150 per cent of the sum required for the service of the loan.

It is hoped to settle 30,180 families, or approximately 120,000 persons, on land to be provided by the government. Part of this land will have to be cleared and reclaimed. In all, about one-third of the proceeds of the loan will be devoted to this purpose. The remainder will be spent to build houses, for initial equipment, etc.

The League loan, however, will not solve the immediate problems of refugee relief. For one thing, the loan is only sufficient to provide accommodations for half the estimated number of families needing settlement. In the second place, the loan will not meet the pressing relief needs. The survey of the League revealed that 36 per cent of the refugees are destitute. Many of these people need assistance at once. A few philanthropic agencies have been working at this problem, but their resources are not sufficient to care for the needs. American money might be wisely used to help in this emergency.

CHAPTER V

GREECE

By C. Luther Fry

Greece today is about the size of the state of New York. Before 1912 it comprised only 25,223 square miles, but 20,730 were added as a result of the last Balkan war and 3,182 more by the Great War. These accessions included wide areas in Macedonia, Western Thrace, Epirus, Crete and other Ægean Islands.

The country suffers from a lack of sufficient rainfall. Figures for Athens show the average precipitation to be about sixten inches a year, and the usual three-months' total for June, July and August to be about an inch. This lack of rainfall has important social consequences. Water is so valuable that it is conserved in containers, which often form excellent breeding-places for malaria-carrying mosquitoes. The lack of water also gives rise to serious problems of sanitation. Even Athens is only now being provided with an adequate system of water supply.

Demography

The total population of Greece is estimated at 6,500,000, or about 130 persons to the square mile, which is close to the average for all Europe. The country, however, is far more over-populated than this figure indicates. The great majority of the people are engaged in agriculture, yet only a fraction of the land can be cultivated. Much of the country is mountainous. Indeed, most of the Ægean Islands belonging to Greece are nothing but the tops of sunken mountains. There are, however, extensive marsh lands that might be drained and cultivated. A government report for 1924 showed that, exclusive of lakes and of lands periodically flooded, there are nearly 1,000,000 acres of cultivable land covered by stagnant waters. The largest areas of marsh land are in Macedonia. Already important drainage projects have been undertaken, of which the Vardar river scheme is the largest. The Foundation Company is planning to salvage tens of thousands of acres of swamp lands near Salonica, and work has already been started. Drainage projects of this kind not only help to bring new lands into cultivation but tend to stamp out malaria by eliminating the breeding-ground of mosquitoes.

The present population of Greece represents an increase of more than 25 per cent since 1922. It is estimated that 1,400,000 refugees migrated to Greece from Asia Minor after the Smyrna fire; and the problems created by this migration have been tremendous. If thirty million people were suddenly added to the population of the United States the proportionate increase would not be greater than that confronted by Greece.[1]

The largest city is Athens, the capital, the population of which in the census of 1920 was given as 385,026; but since that time it is known to have grown a great deal. Salonica is second, and Patras third in size.

The great majority of the inhabitants live on farms; but the influx of rural populations to the cities has recently become so great that the government is considering measures to stop it. The cityward migration is undoubtedly a serious matter since it not only tends to increase the already large amount of unemployment in cities but also reduces agricultural production.

Most of the people are members of the Greek Orthodox Church, which is the state church. Complete toleration and liberty of worship are guaranteed to all other sects.

Government

The government has been unstable. Greece, after participating in the World War on the side of the Allies, undertook an armed expedition into Asia Minor, which had disastrous consequences, culminating in the terrible Smyrna fire of September, 1922. King Constantine was compelled to abdicate in favor of his son, King George II, with a new ministry headed by M. Krokidas. Before the end of 1923, however, the National Assembly, which was strongly anti-royalist, forced King George to leave the country. There followed a number of short-lived ministries, until on March 25, 1924, the Assembly voted the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic. A month later this move was endorsed by a plebiscite, the vote being 758,742 for, to 325,322 against. The republic was proclaimed on May 1, 1924.

The first republican cabinet, under Premier Papanastassiou, fell July 20, 1924. Two other cabinets fell within a year and finally, on June 25, 1925, a former commander-in-chief of the army, Gen. Pangalos, assumed the premiership by force, with the aid of a military clique. On January 3, 1926, he declared himself dictator and the constitution void; but his régime was overthrown on August 22, 1926, in a bloodless revolution headed by General Kondylis. A coalition

[1] For a discussion of the problems arising from this influx of refugees consult the section on Social Conditions, p. 132.

government was then formed which received strong popular support at the elections of November 7, 1926.

Clearly the Greek ship of state has been facing unusually stormy seas. Fortunately, as Mr. Charles P. Howland points out in an article on "Greece and the Greeks," published in *Foreign Affairs* for April, 1926, " . . . political restlessness in Greece bears less directly on the economic situation than in almost any other country. The most subversive political change does not make civil disorder . . . the frequent changes of administration or radical alterations in the form of government have no such significance as they would have in the countries of northwestern Europe."

One of the most serious problems has been the inability of the government to balance its budget. Owing to wars and their aftermath, state budgets have shown increasing deficits. On paper the 1925–26 budget showed a theoretical surplus of 200 million drachmas, roughly $2,500,000, but in fact there was a deficit which is estimated to be 1,000 million drachmas, or between twelve and thirteen million dollars. The 1926–27 budget was supposedly balanced at 8,821,619,843 drachmas; in addition, a theoretical reserve fund of 350 million drachmas was set up to provide for excess expenditures. In actual fact, however, the probabilities are that the deficit was 50 per cent greater than the preceding year. Fortunately the new government has embarked upon a policy of rigid economy.

The two outstanding items of public expense are, first, the cost of maintaining the army and navy and, secondly, the public debt. Military service in Greece is universal and compulsory. About 35,000 recruits are called to the colors each year. The usual term of service is eighteen months, followed by twenty-nine years in different types of reserve corps. In 1925 the army consisted of 4,983 officers and 66,484 men. There is also a small navy. During the dictatorship of General Pangalos, money for armaments was expended in a lavish fashion. According to the 1926–27 budgets, estimates which were ratified by a legislative decree published in April, 1926, the army was to get 2,272 million drachmas and the navy 562 million. In other words, the army and navy divided between them nearly one-third of the nation's total budget.

According to the same budget, estimated requirements to meet the public debt aggregated 2,456 million drachmas. A large proportion of this amount is needed to meet the country's external debt. A financial commission of delegates representing France, Great Britain and Italy is established at Athens in direct relation with the Greek Minister of Finance, and the public debt of Greece is in large measure under the control of this commission. To meet the interest charges on the external debt, receipts from a number of monopolies have been assigned to the commission. In 1925 the gross receipts from the

Greek mortgaged revenues amounted to 1,827 million drachmas, compared with 1,459 million in 1924. The largest amount comes from custom duties, and the second largest from the tobacco monopoly.

The adverse financial situation of Greece is reflected in exchange rates. The steady decline of the drachma, the par value of which is 19.3 cents, is indicated by the following figures:

Year	*Value of Drachma (Cents)*
1920	11.06
1921	5.85
1922	3.31
1923	1.71
1924	1.79
1925	1.54
1926	1.26

The precarious financial position in which Greece found herself led her to experiment with such a drastic remedy as the forced loan. Funds have twice been obtained in this way—in 1923, and early in 1926. In both cases the result was merely a temporary improvement in the financial situation.

As a result of the fall in the drachma, the cost of living has steadily continued to mount. Figures compiled by the National Bank of Greece show that in October, 1926, the index reached 1,862, compared with an average of 100 before the Great War. Wages have not at all kept pace with this rapid rise.

To reorganize its national finances, place its currency on a sound basis and stabilize the exchange, the Greek government recently appealed to the League of Nations for a new loan. In response to this request the Assembly of the League, at its meeting in September, 1927, adopted a plan for the financial reconstruction of Greece which was accepted by the Greek government.

In accordance with this plan, Greece is to issue a loan abroad, under the auspices of the League, the proceeds of which are to be used for stabilizing the currency, assisting refugees, and balancing the budget. If the plan promulgated by the League is carried out it is hoped that Greece will be able to return to a stable currency and a balanced budget.

Economic Conditions

Although primarily an agricultural nation, Greece has carried industrial development further than have most Near East countries. The land is unusually rich in mineral resources. However, only about three dozen mining concessions are in force. The following table gives recent production figures compared with figures for 1913.

Item	*1913* *	*1923* *	*1924* *	*1925* *
Lead (refined)	18,309	4,235	5,103	5,366
Iron ore	310,078	100,115	96,000	88,216
Silver ore	30,717	4,026	4,461	7,594
Magnesite	98,517	62,552	58,213	90,828
Emery	5,560	21,626	22,632	20,354
Lignite	20,002	117,927	111,000	136,104

* Production in tons. 1925 figures are not final, but are believed to be accurate estimates.

These data make it clear that, with the exception of emery and lignite, there has been a general decline in the output of Greek mines during the past twelve years. At one time it was hoped that the production of lignite would make Greece largely independent of fuel from abroad. But the hope has not been realized, primarily because the cost of transportation is twice that of production. The mining properties are so situated that it is impracticable to erect power stations at the mines, which is the solution of this problem that has generally been adopted in other countries.

In contrast with mining, which is declining, industry is expanding. The industrial census of 1917 showed that the country had 2,213 factories with 36,124 employees. Since that time the number of plants has grown decidedly. Between 1921 and 1926 no less than 463 new factories were started, aggregating 13,000 horse power. This number does not include the seventy or more carpet-weaving establishments recently started nor numerous small plants for the production of electricity which have lately been built.

In 1926 the value of Greek industries was a little less than $100,000,000. Of the total amount nearly half represents the output of foodstuff factories, particularly the value derived from converting imported and domestic wheat into flour. According to recent estimates the milling industry employs about 12,000 persons. Textiles come second with 1926 production worth about $14,000,000. Since the coming of refugees from Asia Minor, the production of rugs has been particularly stimulated. In 1925 their value was estimated at more than $1,000,000. The tobacco industry is unusually prosperous and rapidly growing, cigarette production having especially increased.

Fishing is another industry worthy of special mention, for the Greeks are noted fishermen. In 1925, production amounted to 40,000 metric tons, valued somewhere in the neighborhood of $9,000,000. The most important fishing grounds of Greece are those of the district of Missolonghi, on the mainland side of the Corinthian Gulf, opposite Patras. This is an industry capable of decided expansion.

Recently the development of Greek industry has been adversely affected by the uncertain political conditions and especially by the fluctuations in the drachma. As a result of tightness in ready money, the National Bank charged an "official" rate of interest of 11 per

cent. Loans on pledge were roughly double this rate. These conditions have naturally not been conducive to business expansion. For example, only eighty-four new factories were established in 1926, compared with 132 in 1925. It is to be hoped that the new League of Nations loan will help to improve business conditions.

Agriculture

In spite of the growth of industry, Greece is still mainly dependent upon agriculture. An important government official is authority for the statement that three-quarters of Greece's population live on farms.

Only about 30 per cent of the total area of Greece is under cultivation, and since a large part of the cultivated land is devoted to forests, olive groves, vineyards, tobacco fields and fruit orchards, it happens that only three-tenths of the cultivated sections are devoted to cereals. In 1926, the production of all cereals, including wheat, barley, corn, oats and rye, was only 792,000 tons, of which about 290,000 tons were wheat. These figures are below the bumper crops of 1925 but decidedly higher than the figures for other previous years.

The significance of these figures is far-reaching. The yearly consumption of flour is around 650,000 tons, which means that Greece does not half meet its own wheat requirements and has to import hundreds of thousands of tons of wheat annually. The government has been making special efforts to stimulate further production and the area under cultivation has been steadily increasing.

Tobacco is the country's most important money crop, representing three-tenths of the value of all crops raised and half the value of all exports. Since 1921 the amount produced has increased from less than 24,000 tons to more than 56,000. The center of tobacco production is Macedonia, where many of the refugees are specialists in its cultivation.

Currants, wine and olive oil are the three other agricultural products worthy of special mention. In 1926 the currant crop was about 126,000 tons and represented 15 per cent of the value of all exports. The production of olive oil in 1926 was 63,000 tons, but as usual most of it was consumed in Greece, less than 13,000 tons being exported. Wine production during the year totaled 275,000 tons, of which amount 105,000 tons were exported.

During recent years silk production has grown rapidly in Greece. This is another industry which has been decidedly stimulated by the refugees. The output of fresh cocoons amounted in 1925 to 3,200 metric tons. Cotton production has also increased rapidly, being 20,000 tons in 1926 compared with 8,000 in 1923.

The raising of livestock is an important branch of Greek agricul-

ture. No recent figures showing the number of livestock in Greece are available, but it is believed that if the animals distributed by the Refugee Settlement Commission are not included, the total during recent years has decreased. The number of livestock on December 31, 1923, was 17,137,942, which was more than 110,000 less than the total of a year earlier.

The agricultural methods generally employed are primitive, and average yields per acre are only a fraction of those obtained in more advanced countries; but efforts are being made to improve methods and to increase production. The few agricultural schools in Greece will be discussed later in the section on Education. The government operates half a dozen agricultural stations devoted chiefly to animal husbandry and general farming. In addition, there are some eighteen smaller stations conducted principally as nurseries for the raising of shrubs and of fruit trees for public sale. None of these stations, with the possible exception of the Horticultural Station at Athens, is doing much in the experimental field.

The government also conducts agricultural extension work. There is a law providing that an agricultural expert shall be stationed in each of the thirty-three prefectures or counties; but to only seven of the thirty-three has this service extended. These agents and their assistants are supposed to spend half their time traveling in their districts, lecturing, holding demonstrations, and advising farmers, but the system works out better on paper than in fact. However, the Refugee Settlement Commission, as well as certain private companies, notably the tobacco concerns, employ agriculturists who help the peasants improve their farming methods. The presence of the refugees has had much to do with the stimulation of efforts to improve farm methods and increase production. There are now more than 4,000 agricultural associations in Greece.

The Greek Agricultural Society is an important agency working for the improvement of farming methods. Started in 1901 under the name of the Royal Agricultural Society, it maintains several agricultural stations and acts as an agent for farmers in the purchase of fertilizers, seeds, farm machinery, etc. It has also published a large number of popular pamphlets on agricultural subjects, and since 1909 has issued a monthly magazine. It is maintained by income from endowments, private contributions, membership dues, proceeds from the sale of trees, and appropriations from the Ministry of Agriculture.

Foreign Trade

In the following table, recent imports and exports are compared with those of a pre-War year, the figures representing thousands of drachmas.

Year	*Imports* *	*Exports* *	*Adverse Trade Balance* *
1913	177,933	119,001	— 58,932
1922	3,085,475	2,485,080	— 600,395
1923	6,035,346	2,545,110	— 3,495,236
1924	8,053,783	3,276,972	— 4,776,811
1925	10,209,523	4,541,360	— 5,657,163
1926	10,004,939	5,429,751	— 4,575,188

* In thousands.

These figures indicate a decidedly adverse trade balance. During the last few years exports have only equalled about half the value of imports. The increase over 1913 in the size of the adverse trade balance is explained to a certain extent by the depreciation in the drachma. Figured in terms of dollars, the loss which in 1913 was equal to $11,374,000, reached $88,424,000 in 1925 and then dropped to $57,647,000 in 1926. Part of these deficits have been corrected by emigrant remittances. The United States Census of 1920 shows that at that time there were 175,972 foreign-born Greeks living in America. These, and Greeks living in other foreign countries, often send money to "the folks back home." The amount of such remittances, however, is decreasing. Figures compiled by the General Bank of Greece show that during 1924 more than $38,000,000 reached Greece in this way, while in 1926 the amount was only about $27,000,000.

Other factors tending to counterbalance the excess of imports are expenditures by tourists, the earnings of the merchant marine, and income from foreign investments.

As has already been indicated, the principal exports from Greece are natural products such as tobacco, wine, currants, and sultanas. Those few products represent four-fifths of the total value of all exports. The most important single item of import is wheat. Greece actually imports more agricultural produce than she exports. Next to grains come textiles, followed by livestock and cattle products. During the year 1926, as in 1925, both imports from and exports to the United States held first place in value. In the matter of imports, Great Britain ranked second, Roumania third and France fourth, while so far as exports are concerned, Germany, Italy and Great Britain, held second, third and fourth places respectively.

Communication

As in most Near East countries, economic development in Greece is greatly hampered by inadequate means of communication. The length of the railways is roughly 2,000 miles, most of which is state owned. These facilities are very meagre, especially in view of the large increase of population since 1922. The Greek government has coöperated closely with the local railway companies in the endeavor

to improve existing lines and to establish new lines throughout the country; nevertheless the present railways are quite inadequate.

Transportation problems might be solved by bus and truck services if there were adequate highways, but there are not. According to figures supplied by the Ministry of Communication for January 1, 1926, there are only about 6,000 miles of carriage roads in Greece, not including about 2,500 miles of "paths and tracks." Most of the existing highways are in a deplorable condition. The government has recently embarked upon a campaign for more and better roads, and contracts have been let for hundreds of miles of new construction, the cost of which is estimated at 300 million drachmas. But even these new roads will hardly affect the situation. Greece needs not only to repair the great majority of her highways, but also to increase greatly the existing mileage.

Telephone and telegraph systems are being developed. Data supplied by the Ministry of Communication show that on January 1, 1926, there were 1,412 telegraph stations in the country. Messages during the previous year exceeded five million.

The government is trying to stimulate commercial aviation. One contract was signed with an Italian firm for a commercial service between Athens and Brindisi, and another with a French concern to Marseilles, but these services have not yet developed beyond the trial stage.

Shipping is an important industry. Official figures for March 31, 1926, show that at that time there were 468 Greek steamers aggregating 915,696 gross tons, and 755 sailing vessels totaling 62,143 tons. In August, 1914, the Greek merchant marine numbered 1,228 vessels whose total capacity was 992,748 tons. This comparison makes it apparent that the present fleet is slightly below the pre-War strength. The industry is still suffering from a depression, although the situation is not so bad as it was in 1924. Passenger steamers, particularly Greek coast liners, are affected by high operating costs and relatively low freight rates and passenger fares. It is estimated that about 15,000 Greeks are serving on Greek or foreign vessels.

Education [2]

In theory, elementary education in Greece is compulsory; but, especially in the rural districts, the theory does not work out in practice.

Figures for the year 1923–24 show that in addition to 11,156 pupils in kindergartens, the number in elementary schools was

2 The material in the first part of this section is based largely upon the unpublished report of George Wilcox on "Education in Greece," prepared in the fall of 1925.

only 570,455, of whom 342,472 were boys and 227,983 were girls. Most of the Greek elementary schools are coeducational. Many of the Greek schools are quite crowded, some to an unbelievable extent. It is noteworthy that the curriculum in the elementary schools does not include such important subjects as agriculture or hygiene. Of course, these subjects may be taught in connection with other subjects, such as reading or nature study; but it would seem that these topics were worthy of greater emphasis.

Secondary education is largely classical. Except for a few normal, agricultural and commercial schools, which will be described later, and fourteen "real" (science) schools, the great bulk of the secondary schools in Greece are classical. Figures supplied by the Minister of Education in the summer of 1926 show that there are 779 schools of this type in the country, with roughly 93,000 pupils, of whom the great majority are boys.

There are two main types of gymnasia, the four-year school, which is most common in old Greece, and the six-year school found in New Greece. The majority of gymnasia, however, are "incomplete," that is to say, they do not afford full courses. For example, of the 779 secondary schools, 423 are pre-gymnasia with three-year courses.

Besides the classical schools of secondary grade, there are also vocational schools. These are of three main types: (1) normal, (2) agricultural, and (3) commercial.

The most recent available figures place the total number of government normal schools at twenty with 127 teachers and 1,391 pupils. These schools are largely coeducational. In addition to the government normal schools, there are thirteen private schools of this type, having 121 teachers and 1,901 students. It is significant that more prospective teachers are being trained in private than in government schools, and this despite the fact that the students in government schools are paid a small stipend. The explanation lies in the fact that the government requires its pupils to promise to teach a minimum of five years following graduation, a pledge which is not required of the pupils in private schools.

The agricultural schools operated by the Greek government are only three in number. The two additional agricultural schools that were in operation a few years ago were closed because farmers were not sufficiently interested in this kind of education to send their boys. Two of the schools in actual operation are of the secondary type; one is located at Patras and one at Larissa. The third ranks as a higher educational institution and is in the suburbs of Athens near the Botanical Gardens. It is obvious that the government has not developed agricultural education very far.

Government commercial schools, of which there are twenty-three, are operated under the Ministry of National Economy. Three schools

for boys and two for girls are located in Athens, and eighteen are in other parts of Greece. At Athens there is also the Commercial Institute, which is of college rank. In addition to the public commercial schools, there are nineteen managed by private organizations, which are nevertheless recognized by the government as of equal rank with its own. The total number of pupils attending these forty-three schools is 4,505. The number of commercial schools is another indication of the tendency in Greece toward industrialization.

There are three institutions of higher learning in Greece: the University of Athens; the Polytechnical School; and the University of Salonica.

The University of Athens is one of the largest schools in Europe, having about 15,000 students, only about 5 per cent of whom are women. There are five faculties—Theology, Law, Medicine, Philosophy and Physics-Mathematics. The number of students taking law courses is disproportionately high, half the men in the school being enrolled in this department. The second largest group, constituting one-fifth of all the students, is studying medicine.

The Polytechnical School is also composed of five faculties—Civil Engineering, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, Chemical Engineering, Architecture and Topographical Surveying. The last is a two-year course; the rest cover four years. According to data for 1925, the faculty of the institution consisted of thirty-five professors and twelve assistant professors, and the student body of 450 pupils. One is struck by the great disparity in the enrollments of the Polytechnic and of the University. The "white-collar" professions are by far the more popular, despite the fact that in Greece, as in other lands of the Near East, there is a pressing need for men with just the type of training which the Polytechnic School affords.

The University of Salonica started in October, 1926, with 75 students.

Except for a few miscellaneous government institutions like the Art School at Athens, and for a few private institutions like the elementary schools and gymnasia maintained by the Philekpaidentiki Hetairea Society in Athens, this completes the list of the important Greek schools.

Before taking up the schools carried on by foreign groups, a word should be said about the educational budget. According to estimates for the year 1926–27, the Ministry of Public Instruction is to receive about 400 million drachmas out of a total budget of 8,800 million. This means that only one dollar out of every twenty-two is spent for education. The combined budgets of the army and navy totaled 2,800 million drachmas, or seven times as much.

Coming now to the foreign schools in Greece, it is well to remember that by far the largest number are conducted, not by Americans,

but by the French, who have, in all, three dozen schools, of which twenty-seven are managed by different religious orders of monks or nuns. In addition, the Italians have six; the Armenians five; the Germans two, and the Roumanians one. There are several schools of archaeology conducted by Americans, British, French and other foreign groups.

The American work includes six regular schools besides the commercial courses given in Athens and Salonica by the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. There is also a school for girls in Athens known as the Hill School, which, although run by and for Greeks, has nevertheless received aid from Protestant Episcopal sources. The work of the six American schools can be briefly described as follows:

The *Thessalonica Agricultural and Industrial Institute,* more commonly known as the "Farm School," is located three miles southeast of Salonica. It was started in 1904 when that part of the world was still under Turkish rule. The school, which is incorporated under the laws of the State of New York, receives boys between twelve and fifteen years of age and gives them a five-year course of agricultural and industrial training. To enter, a boy must have at least completed the fourth year of an elementary grade school. Last year there were eighty-three boys enrolled, of whom seventy were Greeks. The plant, valued at about $115,000, consists of a school building, an infirmary and teachers' residence building, a dining-hall, two homes for faculty members and a dormitory building (uncompleted because of lack of funds), a power house and miscellaneous shops. The school is also provided with farm lands, barns, modern farm machinery, a herd of high-grade cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry. While at the school the boys study half the time and work on the farm and in the shops the other half. Board is about $90 a year.

The *American College,* at Salonica, is a continuation of Anatolia College which was founded in Marsovan, Turkey, in 1886, but was closed by the Turkish Government in 1922. Dr. George E. White is the President. Last year the enrollment of the school was 160. The students receive training of the gymnasium grade. The present school plant consists of three modest buildings on the edge of the city, but land has recently been acquired several miles from the city intended eventually to be used as a site for the college. Half the expenses of the school are met by tuition fees, the remainder being raised through contributions from the American Board and from other donors.

The *American Boarding School for Girls,* in Salonica, carried on by the American Board is under the direction of Miss Lena Lietzau. Last year the total enrollment was 130, of whom about fifty took the high-school work. About forty girls board at the school. Eventually it is hoped to offer a full senior high-school course of four

years. The school has recently moved into a new and more adequate building. Its expenses are met from the tuition of the pupils plus a grant from the American Board.

The *American College for Girls,* at Old Phaleron, a suburb of Athens, is the successor of the American Collegiate Institute founded in Smyrna in 1875. It offers a full gymnasium course and two years of junior college work. The student body is composed of 175 students, of whom ninety-one are Greeks, fifty Armenians and the rest from eight other nationalities. Every year students are turned away for lack of room.

The equipment of the school consists of a group of rented buildings which were not intended for school purposes. The total amount of the annual budget is about $34,000, of which $5,000 in salaries, and $5,156 in cash are contributed by the American Board. About $3,000 is raised in America and Greece for scholarships for needy students.

The *School of Religion,* at Old Phaleron, is intended as a training school for men and women who are looking forward to Christian service in the Near East. In its present form the school started in 1922 in Constantinople; but in 1925 it was forced to move to Greece. Its non-orthodox character has caused opposition, and the school has not been issued a "permit" by the government. During the first four years it was in session, it had forty-five students, of whom nearly half were Armenians, and most of the rest Russians, Bulgarians and Greeks. The school is anxious to keep its numbers small. Instruction is offered in three departments—Theology, Religious Education and Social Service. The courses last from three to four years. Up to the summer of 1926 there had been twelve graduates. The plant consists of two buildings, the rent of which is paid by the American Board together with the salaries of the four permanent teachers. The students, therefore, have only their expenses of board and lodging to meet.

Athens College, a preparatory school for boys, is the youngest American institution in Greece, having been opened in October, 1925. In many ways the institution is unique. It starts with an unusual status within the Greek educational system. By legislative decree, a diploma issued by the school's classical or practical departments gives its holder the right to matriculate in the University of Athens on exactly the same basis as the diploma from a Greek public school. This privilege has not been granted to other American institutions.

When in full operation, the school will offer three pre-gymnasium grades and five upper-school grades. During 1925–26 the enrollment was thirty-five. The school has been occupying a rented building, but generous gifts from prominent Greeks enabled it to acquire a permanent site and to proceed with plans for new buildings. The members of the Board of Directors, who are mainly Greeks, have recently

pledged themselves to raise enough money to build a dormitory. The institution is now affiliated with the Association of Near East Colleges, and is participating in its campaigns for funds. It is also in line to receive about half a million dollars from the Hall Estate.

Besides the regular schools conducted by Americans, there are Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. centers in both Athens and Salonica. The work of the *Young Men's Christian Association* in Greece is the outgrowth of its army activities. At one time there were as many as seventy army "huts" in operation with an American personnel of eleven.

As a direct outgrowth of the army work, civilian organizations were started in Salonica and Athens in 1922. These associations, which are guided by American secretaries, are chartered as Greek corporations with Greek Boards of Directors whose authority is unchallenged.

Mr. U. L. Amoss was chiefly responsible for this development in Salonica. Because of the prestige which its war activities had brought, the civilian organization was able at the start to gain official recognition and legal sanction. The general attitude is indicated by contributions of 100,000 drachmas a year from both the municipality of Salonica and the central government. In addition, the city has contributed a valuable building-site.

The Y. M. C. A. program in Salonica falls under seven main heads: (1) physical training, recreation and health education, (2) educational work, (3) religious activities, (4) boys' work, (5) social service, (6) army work, (7) general activities. Figures for the year 1925–26 indicate that the program is elaborate. The physical department, for example, had service contacts in thirty-nine centers. The educational department enrolled more than 1,100 students in its night classes. The boys' work department worked in thirty-five centers and reached nearly 4,000 boys. The membership on January 1st, 1927, was 1,202.

The staff consists of ten Greek secretaries. The organization is working toward self-support but at present receives a subsidy from America. Work is being conducted in crowded, rented quarters. Lately, however, a large new building has been started, to finish which will cost about $180,000. A campaign for funds which was assisted by an official Greek commission has been carried on in the United States.

The Athens unit of the Y. M. C. A. is not so well established as the Salonica branch, but its program is similar. It includes night classes in foreign languages and commercial subjects, lectures, recreational and health activities, movies, concerts, religious and moral training through Bible study, boys' work, student work and work in soldiers' camps. In addition to its army huts, the plant of the Athens

Y. M. C. A. comprises a sixteen-room rented building in the heart of the city.

Quite recently a Greek National Board has been organized to coördinate and extend the Y. M. C. A. activities in Greece, and Mr. Amoss has been asked to head the work. Already the Athens and Salonica branches coöperate in running a summer camp for boys.

The *Young Women's Christian Association* in Greece is a continuation of the service center started in Smyrna in 1919. As a result of the great fire of 1922 the personnel of this unit fled to Athens and there started work which was at first purely of an emergency character. During 1924, however, the center began developing along more permanent lines. A local committee was organized which took over full financial responsibility for the hostel that had been started the previous October as an emergency relief measure.

Figures for December, 1925, show 793 members, of whom 358 were native-born Greeks and 286 refugees from Asia Minor. Educational work is an important phase of the organization's activities. During 1925 a total of 245 girls took courses in languages and in commercial work. The "club programs" of the Y. W. C. A. are also important and reach hundreds of girls. Last year an average of forty-five girls were housed at the hostel, where the charges are very reasonable, merely enough to cover the actual expenses.

Largely as an outgrowth of the work at Athens, a Y. W. C. A. unit was started at Salonica in April, 1925. The club began by using three rooms in a Greek school. Within two months the membership numbered 260. The program includes classes in Greek, French, English, millinery, drawing and typewriting, as well as literary, recreational and social-service clubs. The work is supported in the main by a wealthy Greek woman. No American money is being contributed toward the support of either the Salonica or the Athens branch of the Y. W. C. A. Indeed, the particular significance of this organization in Greece appears to lie in the fact that it represents an indigenous movement based largely upon Greek initiative and financed by Greek funds.

Health

In Greece, as in other Near East countries, the three most prevalent diseases are tuberculosis, malaria and venereal disease. Because of the overcrowding by the Greek refugees tuberculosis has spread rapidly during recent years until now it is responsible for more deaths than any other disease. Statistics gathered from the country's ten principal towns in 1924 show that of 27,381 deaths, 3,247 were caused by tuberculosis. Some doctors believe that the actual tuberculosis death-rate for Greece is even higher than these figures indicate.

The present facilities for fighting the disease are totally inade-

quate. By laws passed in 1920 and 1922, the government took supreme control of the campaign against tuberculosis. It operates two large and three small consumption hospitals. The oldest and largest is the Sotiria Hospital, near Athens, with approximately 600 beds. The other large hospital is near Salonica, at the village of Asvestochorion. It was originally built by the British Expeditionary Forces during the Great War and has accommodations for 200 patients. Both these institutions are very much overcrowded. The physician in charge at the Asvestochorion hospital estimates that there are 10,000 consumptives in Greece needing care for whom there are no accommodations. M. Etienne Delta, the head of the Greek Red Cross, and a former member of the Refugee Settlement Commission, believes that Americans could perform no more valuable service in Greece than that of aiding in the fight against tuberculosis.

Malaria is also very prevalent. Dr. Kardamatis, the leading authority on the subject, in his volume published in 1924 on *Statistics of Swamps and Frequency of Malaria in Greece,* estimates the losses from malaria during the year 1923. He places the number of persons suffering from malaria at 1,412,907, in a total estimated population of 6,143,084. On this basis more than one-fifth of all the inhabitants of Greece are suffering from this disease. He estimated the number of deaths from malaria during the year at 6,730. While these figures are mainly guess-work, they bring out the seriousness of the situation.

The government's fight against malaria began in 1905, when an anti-malaria committee was formed at Athens. Later similar associations were organized in all the provinces of Old Greece. Dr. Kardamatis has been a leader in this movement. Since 1908 the government has undertaken to purchase quinine in quantity and sell it at cost, but the system has not worked very well. The American Red Cross has helped by contributing tons of high-grade quinine which were distributed to the people, at first through the Greek government and later through the Refugee Settlement Commission.

Venereal diseases in Greece spread rapidly during the War and have been spreading since. No accurate figures of their incidence are available, but it is significant that of 23,000 prostitutes examined in 1925, 45 per cent were found to be diseased. The first steps to combat these diseases were taken in 1910 when the Andrew Syngros Hospital for Venereal Diseases was established in Athens. Since then a dozen venereal clinics and hospitals have been opened. These facilities, however, are not sufficient; many people are prevented by ignorance from going to the clinics and turn instead to the so-called "practical" doctor.

Several other diseases should be mentioned. Cases of leprosy are scattered here and there over the country. Greece, indeed, is the one country of Europe where centers of leprosy still exist. Trachoma

presents a real problem, especially among the refugees who have spread it almost everywhere. The Greek Red Cross has recently opened two clinics to fight this disease. Because of the lack of water and of drainage facilities, typhoid fever is the commonest acute infectious disease in Greece. Before 1923 inoculation was scarcely known among the civil population, and even today it is not practised extensively. A special mission sent several years ago by the League of Nations innoculated some 700,000 persons, chiefly refugees. In 1923, 1,507 cases of typhoid were reported, of which 666 were fatal; while in 1924 there were only 715 reported cases, and of these only 123 were fatal. Dysentery is second only to typhoid; and at certain times and in certain places it is even more widespread. The year of the refugee influx, 2,071 cases of bacillary dysentery were reported, of which 1,727 were fatal. In 1924, however, the number of cases reported fell to 182, and of these only fourteen were fatal. Measles is the commonest disease among children, and diphtheria and whooping cough are also prevalent.

The health situation in Greece has been steadily improving. During the winter of 1923, when the refugee problem reached its height, epidemics, especially of dysentery and typhus, were rampant. By what seems a miracle, the Health Service was able to stamp them out and since 1924 there have been no serious epidemics.

As in all Near East countries, infant mortality is needlessly high. One factor in the situation is the dearth of midwives. Data for the year 1924 show that at that time 575 certificates to practice had been issued to official midwifes and fifty-eight to practicing midwives. Not only are these midwives far too few in number but, generally speaking, they are poorly trained. There are rural departments with no trained midwives at all. According to 1924 statistics, there were five maternity homes in Greece. The largest is the State Maternity Home at Athens, which also serves as a school for midwives. In addition, most of the large state and municipal hospitals in the provinces have special maternity wards.

The hospital and medical facilities in 1924 were thus summarized by Dr. Phocion Copanaris, Director of Public Health in Greece:

> The number of communal hospitals and hospitals maintained by private charity at present existing in Greece amounts to thirty-five with 1,175 beds of which three are at Athens, with 680 beds, and two at Salonica with 210 beds. . . . The various communities also maintain thirty-five institutions to give free medical advice and medicine to the poor of the district. . . .
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> The total number of doctors in Greece is 3,044.

During the last few years the number of doctors in Greece has undoubtedly increased. The School of Medicine connected with the University of Athens enrolls nearly 3,000 students and graduates about

250 a year. The difficulty is not so much with the number as with the distribution of the doctors. Cities like Athens and Salonica proportionately have too many of them, while rural areas have too few.

One of the important health needs in Greece is for more and better nurses. As is usual throughout the Near East, nurses are looked down upon. A school for training nurses was established by the Near East Relief toward the end of 1923, the first of the kind ever started in Greece. Prior to that time Greek girls who wanted to become nurses had to go to the other capitals of Europe for their training. The Near East Relief school was conducted for more than two years in connection with the Greek Polyclinic Hospital. Despite the need for nurses, the school had difficulty in interesting the right type of girl. The maximum enrollment was twenty-eight, of whom twelve were graduated last June. In November, 1926, the hospital itself assumed full responsibility for the school, while the Near East Relief now limits itself to training nurses at its Syra orphanage. Except for short training-courses given by the Greek Red Cross, these are the only two schools for nursing in Greece. They are inadequate to meet the needs.

The health program of the government is hampered by lack of funds. Figures for the fiscal year 1924–25 show that the budget of the Ministry of Health was 109 million drachmas. In addition, there were expenditures of 22 million for health purposes, but allocated to other departments. In view of the fact that the total budget of Greece for that year was 4,233 million drachmas, it is apparent that the proportion spent for public health is only about 3 per cent.

There are very few foreign agencies doing health work in Greece. The French Consulate operates a small hospital in Athens under the supervision of the Sisters of Charity. But this, and an Italian hospital of the same sort, are not intended primarily to help Greeks. Except for the health programs of the Near East Relief orphanages (which will be described later) the only two American health agencies working for the Greek people are the American Women's Hospital and the Friends Center. Both organizations owe their beginnings to the Smyrna fire. During 1923 and 1924, the American Women's Hospital devoted itself to the health needs of refugees—12,295 patients were cared for in hospitals and 22,318 were disinfected. As the work is losing its emergency character, an increasing effort is being made to put on a general health program. The three hospitals that were being operated in September, 1926 (at Kokinia, Xanthi and Djuma), have baby stations, pre-natal clinics, home-visiting departments, etc. There are also a number of detached clinics which the organization is trying to make into health centers.

At the Farm School, Salonica, the Friends Center, which is a British agency with American support, is trying to do general medi-

cal and anti-malarial work, in addition to giving employment to refugees. The organization hires half a dozen doctors to visit a circuit of villages twice a week. The fees collected now amount to about half the expenses. Eventually it is hoped to put this phase of the work on a self-supporting basis. Anti-malarial work is also being conducted by the physician in charge, who investigates the causes of malaria in villages and suggests remedies. Where possible, troops of Boy Scouts are being organized to fight malaria by oiling stagnant waters and in other ways.

The programs of the American Women's Hospital and the Friends Center, like those of many other agencies in the Near East, are hampered by lack of funds.

Social Conditions

Since the great Smyrna fire of 1922, when hundreds of thousands of Anatolian Greeks were suddenly forced to flee from Turkey, the social problem in Greece has been dominated by the refugee problem. Before discussing the social problems created by these refugees, it is important to consider the permanent situation.

Normal social conditions in Greece are influenced by at least three fundamental considerations. There is first of all the basic fact that the population of Greece is largely rural. For the great majority of the inhabitants the customs, traditions and backgrounds of the village have been dominant in all their associations. The second outstanding factor is the importance of the Church, which is looked upon as the standard-bearer of Hellenism and of national progress as well as of the faith. As a result this institution enjoys greater loyalty than any other agency, religious or otherwise, in the country. Finally, there is the oriental influence. For centuries Greece was subject to the Turks. It is difficult to determine how far the period of subjection to a *force majeure* has handicapped the people in meeting social problems under a bureaucratic régime. Fortunately the handicap is being rapidly overcome both by the coming of the refugees and by the development of a more progressive and better educated citizenry.

The differences between the country and the cities are so striking that it is desirable to consider separately the social conditions in these two population areas.

Socially the Greek village is like an enlarged family, making a natural social agency which assumes responsibility for the sick, the poor and the orphaned. Thus, many social problems are cared for without the need of institutions.

Family ties are very close and common responsibilities are assumed at an early age. Children usually go to school until they are twelve

or thirteen years of age, but after that life in rural areas is largely a routine of agricultural labor. The social life that exists centers around such processes as planting and harvesting, carding, spinning and weaving. Light is too expensive for much social life after dark, but occasionally on some church holiday the family may follow the custom of their community and go to a special spring or monastery for a picnic. Folk-dancing, singing and feasting are customary means of amusement. In addition, men spend many hours in the coffee-houses, which are centers of discussion and of political activity.

Homes are kept remarkably clean but habits of personal cleanliness are not up to western standards.

Child-welfare work, as understood in America, is practically unknown in rural Greece, except as the school and certain church organizations function to that end.

Moral standards in sexual matters are high. Association of girls and boys before marriage is rare and clandestine when it does take place. There is, however, a general acceptance of the double standard.

Although the morals of the ordinary Greek village are good, community life suffers from a lack of mutual confidence. Honesty in business matters is characteristic of most peasants, but it is combined with a native cunning which often defeats its own ends.

Crime is not a serious matter in rural communities, although in some mountainous sections outlaws occasionally appear.

The care of dependents is a family obligation. In cases where a family cannot care for its own relative the village steps in and helps as a matter of course. There is little need for institutions as long as this sense of community responsibility continues to exist.

One of the most hopeful signs in the social and economic development of rural Greece is the use made of available means of communication. Newspapers from the cities circulate in the villages where their contents are discussed in the coffee-shops, and in spite of the fact that highways and roads are poor there is a great deal of traveling to and fro.

Urban social conditions in Greece are, in general, similar to those in other cities of Europe. They vary of course from place to place, and the larger the city the more cosmopolitan it is naturally apt to be. As in the rural community, though probably to a less degree, the urban family is a very strong social unit. The parents do their best to give their children as much education as is possible. The children, in turn, expect to care for their parents long before the latter are really incapacitated for work.

While many girls are employed in offices and factories their vocation is still held to be that of wife and mother. They usually marry quite young and often to men some years older than themselves. The

dowry system, which generally prevails, puts a tremendous economic burden upon the father and brothers—the father often going into debt for many years to marry his daughter suitably. Men in the urban communities, on the other hand, marry comparatively late in life, not only because they must work for a long period to help provide dowries for their sisters and earn enough money to support their parents, but also because they must themselves have a good social and economic position in society before they can command sufficient respect to marry a wife with a large dowry.

Children in the cities are much less under the influence of the home than in the villages. Careful parents, however, endeavor to, and usually do, exert a controlling influence over the activities of the child. But those of the poorer classes suffer because of economic necessity and the lack of community responsibility in child labor, health and recreation. Juvenile delinquency is treated in much the same way as adult crime. The judicial system makes a distinction between minor and adult responsibility, but as yet provides no juvenile court, although a movement is on foot in Athens to create one. There is a reformatory for boys and another for girls, as well as one for young men, but for the most part young people serve short-term sentences in local jails.

Among the poorer classes, the children must leave school at the age of twelve to earn their living. The traditional system has been to out-place children as apprentices—the girls for house-work, and the boys to learn trades, the master providing the training and upkeep of the child, thus freeing the parents of all financial responsibility. The success of the system depends on the attitude of the masters and, with the present breaking-down of the system, less and less moral, parental and educative responsibility is assumed by them.

As in country districts, the dual standard of morals is generally accepted for urban men and women—the latter being expected to maintain a most rigid chastity and the former being unhampered by social restraint until marriage. Prostitution is licensed by the police and controlled by them.

Crime in cities is not serious. Even under stress of refugee conditions, the number of petty crimes is exceedingly small. The cities are orderly and the efficiency of the police is marked. In all cases the courts act expeditiously and the penalty is usually severe. No public sympathy is wasted on the criminal, who by his occupation is considered an enemy of the community.

State and private institutions have been provided to cover most types of dependency and delinquency. In their philanthropic interests and practice the Greeks probably more nearly resemble Americans than do the people of any other country in the Near East. Greeks within and without the country have been most generous in erecting

and endowing social-welfare agencies such as orphanages, foundling homes, hospitals, old peoples' homes, tubercular sanatoria, blind schools, reform schools, homes for incurables, insane asylums, and prisons. This philanthropy has been expressed not only in such institutions but also in private gifts of public buildings, schools, libraries, and other institutions. Twenty-two orphanages are maintained in various parts of Greece by private subscriptions, gifts and endowments. Twenty-eight additional orphanages are supported by the government.

Private philanthropy is supplemented by state subsidies and by Church and state institutions. Before the War the social-welfare agencies filled the needs in a very able way and it is only the unusual social and economic and health conditions arising out of the War, the rapidly changing social conditions, and especially the refugee problems that have made foreign assistance necessary.

Organized recreation is comparatively a recent development in Greece. There are many native forms of recreation such as the use of outdoor cafés, outdoor shadow-pictures, folk-dancing, bathing, hiking, and family excursions on holidays. Recently, however, organized recreation has developed and has become exceedingly popular. The boy-scout movement, and the Junior Red Cross have been extended all over the country. Athletic and sport clubs, particularly for football and track athletics, may be found in most cities. The government, in fact, stimulates the existence of these clubs by giving them play fields, and in some cases subsidies.

The War and the influx of the refugees have temporarily put a stop to the development of the theater and the opera in Greece, but movements are under way to revive them. The motion-picture theater has captured the country. Many are found in the large cities and every small city has at least one.

Turning now to a discussion of the refugee problem, conditions are well summarized in a recent publication of the League of Nations, entitled *Greek Refugee Settlement.*

> The refugee movement is itself something quite new in history; we may even call it an unprecedented event in the story of the migration of peoples. . . . At the time of this cataclysm, Greece, already exhausted by ten years of uninterrupted military effort and by protracted internal difficulties, had to face a formidable problem: a country of five million had to shelter, feed and settle nearly a million and a half of their fellow-countrymen. . . .
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> The immigrants were mainly divided into two classes: there were, first, those who fled from the catastrophe in Asia Minor and invaded the country during the Autumn of 1922; in a wretched condition, starving, ill, stripped of all they had, nearly all of them mourning the loss of near relatives, a veritable human wreckage. . . . In the course of their flight, the members of a family became scattered and lost one another, and in many cases sur-

vivors did not succeed in rejoining each other until after a year or two. Even today cases occur of a mother discovering her child or a father his family.

The second class of refugees was made up of Greeks from Turkey (Asia Minor, Thrace) who had to emigrate in virtue of the Convention of Lausanne providing for the exchange of Greeks in Turkey and Turks in Greece. These refugees left their homes in the autumn of 1923 under less violent conditions but they, too, were a burden. . . .

The flood was swollen, too, from other quarters—refugees from the Russian Caucasus and Bulgaria; others were not Greeks at all, but included Circassians and a large number of Armenians; the country was invaded from every side.

There are no accurate figures showing the number of refugees that entered Greece; but the Refugee Settlement Commission estimates the total, including those from Thrace, Bulgaria and Russia, to be about 1,400,000.

Not all of the refugees were in need of help. Some of the Greeks, especially those from Constantinople, had sufficient resources to make their own way. Moreover, a number of refugees, particularly Armenians, left the country soon after entering it. These groups, however, were relatively small. The great majority, estimated at 1,200,000 individuals or roughly, 300,000 families, were in need of some kind of assistance.

From the first, the Greek government did what it could to meet the emergency needs, but the situation was saved only by the invaluable help of foreign relief organizations.

For a time the most important foreign agency operating in Greece was the American Red Cross, which through its extensive distribution of food, clothing and medicine, kept alive half a million refugees. At the end of a six-months' period, however, the organization withdrew. Next to the Red Cross, the Near East Relief performed the largest service of rendering emergency aid to refugees. Although primarily concerned with the relief of children orphaned by war, the Near East Relief, which was the only organized relief agency on the ground at the time of the Smyrna disaster, gave freely to all classes of refugees. Not only did it distribute foodstuffs and clothing, but it sent doctors, nurses and medical supplies to needy centers.

The most important work of the Near East Relief in Greece has been that of caring for orphans. Following the Smyrna disaster, the Turks forced the Near East Relief, which had been maintaining Greek and Armenian orphanages in Anatolia, to leave the country. Thus the number of children transferred to Greece in November and December, 1922, was 15,644. Subsequent admissions swelled the total to roughly 18,500. To meet the emergency, the government, despite the pressure of other refugee needs, turned over many of its finest public buildings to the Near East Relief, which equipped them with

dormitories, kitchens, schoolrooms, hospitals, etc., for orphanage use. On the Island of Syra, sixty miles by boat from Athens, the Near East Relief itself constructed an elaborate plant capable of accommodating 2,500 children. This plant is the largest and most complete institution of its kind in the Near East, but its inaccessible location may make its future use difficult.

At first the needy children could not all be accommodated in orphanages, so that some had to be helped by supplementary feeding. Others were cared for by subsidies to other institutions. Supplementary feeding has now ceased, but children are still being provided for through arrangements with other institutions.

After providing food and shelter, the next outstanding requirement was for medical attention. Nearly every child had at least one serious ailment such as favus, trachoma or malaria. To meet this problem, a number of well-equipped hospitals were established, and clinics and dispensaries were started in each of the orphanages. The results of the admirable work accomplished by the medical staff are indicated by the following figures showing the annual death rates in orphanages:

Year	*Average Number of Orphans*	*Death Rate (Per Cent)*
1923	12,800	1.6
1924	7,500	0.7
1925	4,400	0.4

After the emergency needs had been met the organization was able to turn its attention to the need for education. By September, 1924, the various orphanage schools were fully equipped to provide each child with the standard public-school education of Greece. In addition, orphans over ten were supposed to attend one of the technical or training-schools which were also established in the orphanages. The aim has been to give each boy such manual or industrial training that he can be self-supporting at sixteen; while so far as girls are concerned, the chief emphasis has been placed on domestic science and training for home-making. Religious instruction is also emphasized in the orphanages.

It came to be realized early that, even more important than providing formal educational training in orphanages was the placing of children in families, preferably those of relatives, or on farms, since these arrangements enabled more normal social relationships to be established. To carry on this work, a special department was created which has not only helped thousands of children to find members of their families, but has secured work for older girls in private homes and found industrial and agricultural jobs for older boys. The department investigates conditions before placing a child and also con-

tinues for months afterward to supervise out-placed children. On January 1, 1927, no fewer than 5,428 children were reported to be under the care of this division.

Because of economic competition and racial distinctions, it has been difficult to get jobs for Armenian children in Greece. Special efforts, therefore, have been made to find jobs for them abroad, especially in France and Egypt. Cairo is the center of a large and wealthy Armenian colony. For this reason, the Near East Relief has concentrated its efforts there. Hundreds of Armenian children have been taken from Greece to work in Cairo and a home has been established which closely supervises these orphans during the transition period. A somewhat similar home for girls was opened at Marseilles.

As a result of the policy of placing younger children with relatives and of finding jobs for older boys and girls, the number of children in Near East Relief orphanages in Greece has been greatly reduced. Nevertheless it is planned to maintain some of them, at least, in the Kaffisia building, which is a new plant in Athens that the Near East Relief has brought to completion at a cost of $15,000. The Near East Relief feels that it is important for the organization to have a permanent building of its own in Athens, as a memorial and to show their work to American tourists passing through the city.

A most significant recent development in the work of the Near East Relief has been the establishment of working boys' homes. The section of this report dealing with economic conditions has brought out the fact that Greece is passing through a period of business depression. It is, therefore, often difficult for young boys and girls just out of an orphanage to make their own way. Frequently their pay is so small that they can scarcely live in decency. There is a real danger, therefore, that the value of training received in the Near East orphanages will be lost in the maelstrom of trying to gain a livelihood.

To meet this situation, a movement has been started, under the capable direction of Mr. C. C. Thurber, to establish homes where boys for a very modest sum can obtain clean lodgings under wholesome surroundings. Already four such homes have been established, which, on December 1, 1926, housed more than 100 boys. This is a service which might profitably be expanded to provide accommodations not only for former inmates of orphanages but also for other boys and girls.

The International Migration Service is another philanthropic foreign agency that has been helping to meet the needs of refugees in Greece. The task of starting a human "lost and found" department was originally undertaken in 1923 by the Y. W. C. A. and the Near East Relief acting together. After the first year, however, the work was taken over by the International Migration Service, which is a

sort of international "Travelers Aid Society" with headquarters in Geneva. The organization assists in securing passports; gives information about immigration laws; assists travellers to find suitable lodgings; locates lost relatives, etc. Up to September, 1926, the Greek branch of this agency handled more than 2,000 cases. As the refugee problem in Greece is losing its emergency character, the work has been developing along more permanent lines. The organization secures most of its support from the contributions of trust funds or foundations such as the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the Russell Sage Foundation.

Besides the American relief agencies, British societies also came to Greece to help solve the refugee problem. The two most important were the "Save the Children" Fund and the All-British Appeal. Both of these organizations have left the country. A number of Greek philanthropic associations also contributed, and many of these agencies are still actively at work.

After the immediate subsistence needs of refugees had been met, the basic problem confronting Greece was to get them on a self-supporting basis. At first the Greek government itself undertook to deal with this need, but it soon became apparent that the resources of the state were not sufficient for a task of such magnitude. An appeal was therefore sent to the League of Nations. In response to this request, Colonel Proctor, of New Zealand, was sent out to make a factual report upon the needs and the best way of meeting them. His survey showed that half the refugees were farming people; that a million and a quarter acres of land were available for village-building and cultivation; that Greece needed more agricultural production as it normally imported about one-third of its foodstuffs; but that the cost of establishing the refugees would be in the neighborhood of $50,000,000.

On the basis of this report the Council of the League of Nations finally agreed, on September 29, 1923, to establish the Refugee Settlement Commission whose primary duty was to secure productive employment for refugees. Under its charter, philanthropy, in the sense of rendering emergency relief, was specifically forbidden. The money for the enterprise was obtained by an international loan of nearly $50,000,000 floated simultaneously in London, New York and Athens.

The Commission is an autonomous body consisting of four members—two appointed by the Greek government with the approval of the Council of the League, and two appointed by the League itself. One of the League appointees must be an American citizen and must act as chairman.

The Greek government, according to the original protocol, agreed to turn over to the Commission 500,000 hectares, or roughly 1,250,000 acres of land. In conformity with this undertaking, the government,

up to July 1, 1926, actually turned over land estimated at 735,674 hectares of which 470,154 are believed to be cultivable. This land belongs to the Commission which holds it as security for the refugee loan.

Of the total area delivered to the Commission the greater part—562,922 hectares to be exact—was located in Macedonia, while much of the remainder, 116,013 hectares, was in Thrace. Most of the property turned over to the Commission consisted of farm lands that had belonged to Turks who were exchanged under the Lausanne Treaty.

The vast resources at the disposal of the Refugee Settlement Commission have enabled it to accomplish a remarkable piece of work. Its main energies have been directed toward establishing rural refugees on the soil. It has, however, helped to provide some accommodations for urban people. About half of all the refugees—roughly 600,000—were from cities. Before the establishment of the Commission, the Welfare Fund—a state institution—has started to build homes for these refugees on the outskirts of Athens, Volo, Eleusis and Edessa. The Commission took charge of this work as soon as it was created; and up to July 1, 1926, had built 16,700 houses, including those more or less completed by the state before the Commission established. In addition, the government itself has also erected other new houses in Athens and in several other provincial towns.

The majority of urban refugees, however, have not been provided for either by the government or by the Commission. Thus many of the refugees in cities are living under deplorable conditions. The situation has been further complicated by a pronounced cityward migration of rural people. The congestion and overcrowding in cities is appalling, and this is one of the main reasons for the rapid spread of tuberculosis.

Instead of trying to establish refugees in cities, the Commission has tried to establish them on farms, rightly feeling that it is more important to increase the area under cultivation than to increase the population of already overpopulated cities.

The process of establishing rural refugees is thus described by Mr. Charles P. Howland, in an article on "Greece and Her Refugees," published in *Foreign Affairs* for July, 1926.

> These peasant-cultivators the Commission has been establishing by building villages for them in "Old Greece," in the new provinces and in the islands. . . .
>
> "Establishment" of a family in a village consists in supplying it with a cottage of mud bricks or masonry comprising two rooms, a small storehouse and a stable under one roof, and with the land necessary for the support of the family according to the crop appropriate to each region, and then furnishing to each family a work animal—ox, mule, buffalo—a pony or donkey for transport, the tools and seeds necessary for the cultivation selected

in each case, and subsistence for man and beast until the first crops can be harvested and sold, and to groups of families, plows, harrows, carts, etc., sufficient for their common use.

The magnitude of the task accomplished in Greece is indicated by the following table showing the total number of refugee families settled on the land up to July 1, 1926:

Families settled by the	*Macedonia*	*Other Provinces*	*Total*
Greek Government	66,920	5,661	72,581
Refugee Commission	116,403	30,846	147,249
TOTAL	183,323	36,507	219,830

These figures are impressive but one who has not actually visited refugee villages cannot possibly comprehend the work done. In Macedonia alone, more than 1,500 villages have been built. The Greek population in Macedonia has been increased by 750,000. Moreover, the non-Greek population has been greatly reduced by the forced exchange of Turks and Bulgarians. This Hellenizing of Macedonia should help to stabilize the political situation in that area so long disturbed by the bitter conflicts between antagonistic racial groups.

The settling of so many farmers on the soil has already resulted in increased agricultural production. The beneficial effects of the Commission's work are also indicated by comparative birth and death statistics. Figures for Macedonia show that during the last six months of 1924, the birth-rate was 1.0 per cent per annum, while the death-rate was 3.3 per cent. By the opening months of 1926, the birth-rate had risen to 3.5 per cent, while the death-rate had fallen to 1.2 per cent.

Vast as is the work accomplished, the Refugee Settlement Commission has not been able to meet all of the relief needs of Greece. It was estimated that there were, in 1926, from 8,000 to 20,000 Greek agricultural families still to be settled on the soil. In addition, there are, as has already been indicated, many urban families in dire circumstances. As the funds of the Commission are being rapidly exhausted, and as the League of Nations has recently refused to authorize a further loan, these needs will probably not be fully met.

There are also relief needs with which the Commission is not concerned. Under its charter it is definitely prohibited from assisting non-Greeks. As there are in Greece at present tens of thousands of Armenians, it is obvious that they present a real problem which the Commission is not in a position to meet. Some of the Armenians are living under deplorable conditions.

It is significant that all of the philanthropic enterprises were established in Greece within recent years. Prior to the Great War

the government was anything but cordial to enterprises of this sort. Now, however, its attitude has altered. A recent law offers established institutions from Asia Minor that come to Greece the same rights and privileges as they enjoyed in Turkey.

In addition to the American organizations just listed, there are several purely religious agencies operating in Greece. The American Bible Society maintains colporteurs in Macedonia, and the British and Foreign Bible Society also conducts work from its headquarters in Athens.

CHAPTER VI

TURKEY

By C. Luther Fry

Turkey today covers an area of 282,627 square miles,[1] a third more than the Republic of France. All the territory it now holds is in Asia Minor except a small part, comprising 8,819 square miles, located in eastern Thrace. This small part, European Turkey, is far more important than its mere size would indicate, because it includes Constantinople, strategically one of the most important cities of the world, which not only dominates the outlet from the Black Sea but also forms an important link in the trade routes between Europe and Asia.

As a result of the losses sustained through recent wars, Turkey is only a fraction of its former size. The series of wars, beginning with the Turco-Italian conflict of 1911–12, brought about the loss to Turkey of large areas in the Balkans. The World War not only deprived her of 'Iraq (Mesopotamia), Syria and Arabia, the Hejaz and Palestine, but also terminated the sovereignty which the Sultan had possessed, technically at least, over Cyprus and Egypt. To a considerable extent, however, these losses account for the present strength of Turkey, which is no longer compelled to expend its energies in efforts to govern hostile and widely separated racial groups. At present the Kurds are the only nationality group in the country with whom the Turkish government is in danger of having difficulties.

Turkey has two distinct climatic zones—the coastal and the interior. Along the coast the temperature is mild and the rainfall averages from 22 to 33 inches. In the interior, the average rainfall is only from 8 to 14 inches. Here the climate runs to extremes with long, cold winters and short, hot summers. Droughts are comparatively frequent and often have serious social consequences. There are no rivers of commercial importance in Turkey, but many streams, some of which flow sluggishly across the plains, forming great malaria-breeding swamps that are responsible for one of Turkey's chief health problems.

1 This figure, which is the one adopted in *Turkey, A Commercial and Industrial Handbook*, by G. Bie Ravndal, former American Consul General at Constantinople (Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1926) is believed to be a conservative estimate. Some other sources use a far larger figure.

Population

According to Turkish authorities the present population of the country is around 13,500,000. This figure, which is probably high, means an average density of less than fifty persons to the square mile, or one-fourth that of France. Turkey, therefore, is decidedly underpopulated, and broad areas of arable lands are entirely unutilized.

The population of the area now occupied by Turkey is probably two millions less than it was immediately after the Great War. This reduction has been caused by the removal from nearly all parts of the country, except Constantinople, of the Greek and Armenian elements of the population. Not only were hundreds of thousands of Christians forced to flee from Anatolia as a result of the Greek defeat in Asia Minor, which culminated in the Smyrna fire of September, 1922, but later the Lausanne Treaty provided for the compulsory exchange of Greeks in Turkey and Turks in Greece. The half million Turkish refugees who have entered the country because of this agreement do not begin to make up for the Greeks who have been forced to leave. As for the Armenians, death, deportation and emigration have reduced their numbers in Turkey from a pre-War population of 1,500,000 to a comparatively small group living chiefly in Constantinople.

This reduction of the Greek and Armenian elements of the population has virtually eliminated Turkey's troublesome "minorities" problem; but, on the other hand, it has created serious disorganization, especially in business. The exodus of Christians has also seriously affected the American and other foreign educational enterprises operating in Turkey, as many of these agencies worked primarily with these groups.

Turkey is dominantly an agrarian and pastoral country and the mass of the population is composed of peasants. There are comparatively few big cities. By far the largest is Constantinople, with about 800,000 inhabitants; Smyrna comes second, with approximately 100,000. These are the country's two main ports. Angora, which became the capital in 1922, has grown very rapidly and now has 58,000 inhabitants.

Life in the larger cities is in striking contrast with the poverty and squalor of the villages. Constantinople is modern in many respects. It has many up-to-date conveniences, including a telephone service, electric lights and an extensive trolley system. The villages, on the other hand, lack nearly all of the modern conveniences of civilization. Despite these striking differences between urban and rural conditions, there has been a tendency to generalize about recent changes in Turkey solely on the basis of the progress made in the great cities. It is true that the innovations now being adopted by

Constantinople may later be adopted in the provinces, but the "lag" is tremendous.

Government

Since the latter part of 1922, Turkey has been a republic. This change in government was brought about by Mustapha Kemal Pasha and a small group of patriots who refused to accept the harsh terms which the Allies attempted to impose on Turkey after her crushing defeat while fighting on the side of the Central Powers in the Great War. The Turkish spirit was fanned into violent flame by the Greek expedition into Asia Minor. Kemal Pasha recruited a Turkish army which, in a great drive culminating in the Smyrna fire of September, 1922, was completely successful in forcing the Greeks out of Anatolia. Thereupon he and his group assumed control of the country. The new government chose as its capital Angora instead of Constantinople. The Sultan and the Caliphate were eliminated from power and a constitution was drawn up and adopted in October, 1925, which proclaimed Turkey a republic under the rule of a president and a National Assembly composed of 283 deputies. Kemal Pasha was elected the first president.

The change in the status of Turkey which he and his party have been able to achieve is nothing short of phenomenal. At the close of the Great War, Turkey was "down and out." Today the psychology is that of a victorious nation. As in the past, the jealousies among European powers, especially the differences between France and Great Britain, have been extremely important factors in Turkey's "comeback."

Although opinions differ widely, many intelligent Turks agree that despite the defects of the present government, no régime has ever been more mindful of the welfare of the great mass of the Turkish people. Protection of Turkish interests and the development of progressive western conditions are the two fundamental policies upon which the new government rests. In its policy of developing "Turkey for the Turks," the government has abolished the capitulations according to which foreigners in Turkey enjoyed a special legal status. In its program of westernization, the country has gone far in abolishing the old dispensation based upon the Koran. A law of 1925 ended polygamy and gave to women equal status with men in the question of divorce. Even more recently, the judicial codes have been completely modernized. A new civil code, based upon the Swiss, became effective in October, 1926, a step the importance of which can hardly be overemphasized.

Many other western reforms have been introduced, such as the adoption of the western calendar and the abolition of the fez. As

a result of the tendency toward westernization, many Mohammedan women are abandoning the veil, but the government itself has not taken drastic action in this matter.

Turkey is confronted by a huge foreign debt. The situation is thus summarized in *Turkey: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook,* a recent publication of the United States Government:

> The new Turkish state may therefore be considered as having begun its career faced with the following obligations:
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | Foreign loans ..... | £T. 146,475,081 | (gold) |
> | Internal loan ..... | £T. 17,851,170 | (paper) |
> | Paper currency ..... | £T. 158,748,565 | (paper) |
> | Floating debt ..... | £T. 73,000,000 | (paper) |
>
> . . . Any attempt to reduce the internal debt to a dollar equivalent is practically impossible owing to the present and especially to the future fluctuations of the Turkish pound.

The partitioning of the foreign bonded debt of the Imperial Ottoman Empire has not yet been achieved nor has the method of paying the coupons been determined. As a result, the foreign credit of the country is low. Foreign business and financial interests are reluctant to invest their money in Turkey. It should be noted, however, that the present government has resisted all temptation to inflate the currency.

Budget estimates for the year 1926–27 place revenues at 190 million Turkish pounds and expenditures at 189 million. This is the first time for years that the budget has balanced, even on paper. To increase government revenues, the whole system of taxation has recently been revised. A general consumption tax of 2½ per cent has been imposed on all transactions except those involving articles that the government has monopolized. In addition, there is a special consumption tax on amusements, bars, cafés, etc. The Assembly also recently adopted a new increased income tax, an inheritance, and a personal tax. Petroleum, sugar, alcohol, firearms, cigarette papers, matches, etc., have been made government monopolies. These new regulations have contributed to the present uncertainty regarding business conditions, and have been largely responsible for a steady increase in the cost of living.

Before the War, the value of the Turkish lira was $4.40, but today it is approximately 50 cents. This depreciation has naturally caused great hardship to the bulk of the population.

Economics

The basis of Turkey's economic life is farming, and little has been done to develop the mineral and industrial resources of the

country. The extent of the mineral wealth of Turkey has never been accurately ascertained, but it is known to be large. Great deposits of coal and lignite, of lead and other minerals remain unworked, primarily because of inadequate transportation facilities and the lack of capital and labor. Among the more important mineral resources that are actually being utilized are coal, borax, emery, meerschaum and chrome. According to a recently enacted law, the subsoil of Turkey is now a state monopoly, a provision that should prove an increasingly valuable asset to the government as time goes on.

A considerable fraction of the present area of the country is covered with timber; and of this total about 90 per cent belongs to the government. Here is another asset of great possible future value. The waters around Turkey abound in fish, and the value of the annual catch is well over a million dollars. The revenue from the taxation of fishing is one of those ceded to the Ottoman Public Debt to be administered in the interest of Turkey's foreign creditors.

Industry is in a backward state. Very few factories of any size have ever existed in Turkey, and nine-tenths of the goods produced are manufactured in homes or in very small shops employing two or three persons. From the standpoint of the numbers employed, the most important industries are those of textiles, tobacco, silk and leather goods.

Prior to the establishment of the Republic, the government offered little inducement to its nationals to develop industries, but since the coming of the new régime, the state has endeavored to encourage industrial expansion. The Assembly even went so far as to pass a "stimulation of industries" law exempting certain factories from taxation. Thus far, however, the effect of this legislation has been much more than counterbalanced by the non-Moslem exodus. A government survey made in 1915 showed that less than a sixth of the capital and labor employed in the manufacturing industries of the country was Turkish, while a fifth was Armenian and a half Greek. Thus the exodus of the Christian minorities from Turkey has been a great blow to such industrial development as previously existed.

Although agriculture is the chief occupation of Turkey, only between a third and a quarter of the arable land is cultivated, because of the primitive farming methods employed and the underpopulation of the country. Turkish agriculture is distinguished by the variety of its products. Few areas of similar size yield so many different crops. The country falls into three agricultural zones: the rainy region along the Black Sea is adapted to the raising of tobacco, fruit and nuts, as well as of flocks and herds; the areas along the shores of the Ægean and the Mediterranean seas are especially suited to the growing of citrus fruits, figs, cotton and olives; the interior produces cereals and animals.

Figures from the government, which are probably approximately correct, show that in 1925 the total area under cultivation was 14,500,000 acres. Of this amount nearly half—7,100,000 acres—was devoted to wheat. The wheat actually harvested amounted to 39,427,190 bushels, an average yield of fewer than six bushels to the acre, or less than a quarter of the American average. Among the small grains, barley ranked second with a production area, in 1925, of 1,950,000 acres; while corn was third with an acreage of 1,080,000. It is significant that in spite of the large proportion of the total acreage of Turkey that is devoted to cereals, and in spite of the fact that Turkey is predominantly an agricultural land, the value of the cereals imported in 1924 and 1925 was four times that of the cereals exported. In other words, Turkey does not even now meet her own cereal requirements.

Cotton is a product that has recently seen a marked revival. At the time of the American Civil War, a concern from the United States opened a branch at Smyrna and encouraged the production of high-grade cotton. With the fall in cotton prices at the close of that war, the industry in Turkey declined; but recently the government employed an American expert and imported American seed in order to re-establish it.

Tobacco is the country's leading article of export. In 1925, according to government figures, nearly 125,000,000 pounds were produced, as compared with 120,000,000 in 1924. The most important fruits, from the standpoint both of local consumption and of export, are raisins and figs. Estimates for 1926 place the fig crop at 40,000 tons, showing it to have been larger than the preceding year's harvest.

Opium is a Turkish product much sought after in foreign markets. Figures for 1913 show that 10,000 cases of opium were produced in that year. Owing to the devastation caused by the Turko-Greek wars of 1919–22, the cultivation of opium was greatly reduced. Production for 1926 was estimated at 4,300 cases, compared with 4,500 cases in 1925.

Stock-raising is an important branch of agriculture in Turkey. The industry, however, is conducted in a most primitive manner, inbreeding being the rule rather than the exception. Because of the droughts, the animals suffer in summer from a lack of grass, and in winter they are exposed to the cold. Such hard conditions produce animals that are rugged but scrubby. The depletion of herds in Turkey as a result of the Great War, and of the chaotic years that followed, is estimated at 50 per cent. Government figures for the year 1924, which are probably only 80 per cent complete, show the number of animals to be: horses, 504,974; cows, oxen and buffaloes, 4,621,929; sheep, 10,357,423; goats, 8,774,173; donkeys,

779,029; and camels, 80,655. More recent figures compiled by the Ministry of Finance are said to show a very considerable increase of livestock during 1925 and 1926. This increase has already resulted in a steady increase in the amount of wool clipped, which for 1926 is estimated at 25,000 bales.

The agricultural methods employed in Turkey are quite antiquated. Much of the plowing is done with a metal-tipped stick. Artificial fertilizers are not used at all, and manures are used for fuel instead of fertilizer. The situation is complicated by inadequate means of communication and by the disorganization caused by the Christian exodus and the coming of Turkish refugees from Greece.

The present government recognizes the importance of stimulating agricultural activities. It not only created a Ministry of Agriculture but quite lately substituted a land tax for the former practice of taxing the farmers 12½ per cent of all they produced. Steps have also been taken to supply ex-soldiers with farms and to aid in the distribution of seeds and modern farm machinery. Figures for the year 1925 show, for example, that during that year 2,100 plows and 163 tractors were sold to farmers on easy terms. The Agricultural Bank—a financial institution making loans directly to farmers—has been recently given additional credit facilities. Particular attention has been devoted to the development of agricultural schools.[2] Demonstration model farms are one of the special interests of Mustapha Kemal Pasha.

In spite of the efforts of the government, the agricultural outlook is still unpromising.

Foreign Trade

The foreign trade figures given in the table that follows are furnished by the Turkish authorities and cannot be fully substantiated. They bring out the point, however, that Turkey is still suffering from an adverse trade balance.

	Imports *	*Exports* *	*Adverse Balance* *
1923	144,787	84,651	— 60,136
1924	193,611	158,868	— 34,743
1925	235,761	193,083	— 42,678

* In thousands of Turkish pounds.

So far as imports are concerned, the most important group of commodities is cotton and cotton goods, which in 1925 amounted to nearly one-third of the total value of all imports. Cereals and their products rank second and metals third. Tobacco is by far the most valuable article of export and represents about one-third of

2 See section on Education, p. 151.

the total value of all outgoing commodities. Fruits and vegetables rank second, figs and raisins being especially important. Figures giving the extent to which the different countries participate in Turkey's foreign trade show that Italy leads in the value of both imports and exports.

Communication

The discussion has already indicated that Turkey's economic development has been seriously handicapped by lack of means of transportation. The President of the Republic places communication first among the problems confronting the nation. So inadequate and expensive are the existing shipping facilities that in Constantinople wheat from America can actually undersell the product raised in Anatolia.

Figures compiled by Mr. Julian Gillespie show that "of the 7,000 to 10,000 miles of roads and trails, probably not more than 3,000 have been metaled, and most of these are in bad repair." Until one has tried to travel over them, it is hard to imagine how bad some of these roads actually are. To improve the roads, the government, early in 1925, passed a law making it compulsory for every male from eighteen to sixty-five years of age, to pay an annual road tax consisting of from six to twelve days of manual labor or its equivalent. This legislation has not been in force long enough to change conditions materially.

The railroads in Turkey total about 2,200 miles. With the exception of a part of one line, all were originally built by private concerns, and, as a result, the different lines do not constitute a unified system. The government, which now controls the railroads, is trying to improve existing facilities and to build new lines. Its construction program, however, is being hampered by lack of funds.

Steamship facilities are comparatively well developed. Numerous shipping companies have been accustomed to send boats to the Near East and most of them stop at Constantinople or pass through the harbor. In 1924, for instance, 4,898 ships called at that port. Since July 1, 1926, coastwise shipping, including both freight and passenger traffic, has been a Turkish monopoly, which means that figs from Smyrna, for example, can be shipped to Constantinople only in Turkish boats. It is still too early to see how this ruling will affect the trade routes of foreign shipping concerns.

Telephone service is being extended. Constantinople has had telephone facilities since 1908, and an automatic system has recently been completed at Angora, while another is being installed at Smyrna. A line being built between Angora and Constantinople will make it possible for these two cities to talk to each other over the "long distance." The radio is also being developed. The government has

erected high-power wireless stations both at Constantinople and at Angora.

The authorities seem anxious to develop commercial aviation, and several concessions have been granted for the development of air routes between Constantinople and Angora and between Turkey and other countries, but these developments have not yet progressed beyond the trial stage.

Education

Education is one of Turkey's most pressing problems. Mustapha Kemal rates it second only to transportation as the most immediate need of the republic. Its importance is indicated by the fact that the Ministry of Public Instruction estimates 85 per cent of the population to be illiterate.

The Turkish educational system is essentially a state affair and is headed by a cabinet officer known as the Minister of Public Instruction, under whose direction fundamental and far-reaching changes have been made in Turkey's educational program. Government schools have been almost entirely secularized. The educational system has been placed under the control of a board of experts with a view to maintaining a definite educational policy instead of the vacillating one of the past. Significant, too, is the fact that the government is coming to exercise more and more supervision over the non-governmental schools, a policy that has very directly affected the conduct of American and other foreign educational enterprises.

The development of Turkey's educational system is hampered by the government's lack of finances. A recent budget of the department totaled £T. 7,478,106, or less than four million dollars. Teachers' salaries are entirely inadequate. At present, primary teachers begin at £T. 15 a month. Teachers in secondary schools get only £T. 25. Permanent teachers get an increase in salary of 15 per cent every three years. In addition, all teachers receive from £T. 5 to 10 per month for house rent. In theory, salaries are paid on a gold basis; but in reality the government gives only four paper pounds in lieu of each gold pound, which is less than half the exchange rate of the open market.

Before describing the present schools of Turkey it is well to recall that as late as 1900 the great majority of boys who went to school at all, attended mosque schools where they spent much of their time learning by heart sections of the Koran in the original Arabic. Education for girls can hardly be said to have existed. Thus the very fact that the government is trying to provide educational facilities for its citizens marks a noteworthy advance. The extreme youth of Turkey's educational system should be kept in mind in passing judgment upon it.

According to law, primary education is compulsory; but the law is not enforced even in the larger cities, owing in part to the poverty and indifference of the parents and in part to the inadequacy of the school facilities.

The report for the school year 1923–4 shows that in addition to about 100 primary schools run in connection with normal and secondary schools, the number of schools of this kind operated by the government was 4,770. The unsuitable character of many of the school buildings is clearly indicated by the government's figures, which showed that 2,100 of the primary schools were housed in buildings not originally constructed for school purposes. Of the total number, 2,011 were classed as unsanitary. Many schools have insufficient light and inadequate water and sanitary conveniences.

Theoretically, all primary schools are supposed to give a five-year course; but in fact only a quarter actually do so, while two-thirds give no work above the third year. The program of study consists of the bare essentials of the three R's. The government is anxious to increase the amount of practical training. A significant development is the establishment of a few so-called "Life-work Schools" which emphasize courses that will enable students to earn a living immediately upon graduation.

In 1923–24, the total number of primary teachers was 10,102, or one teacher to every thirty-two pupils; 90 per cent of the teachers were men. According to the 1923–24 report, the number of pupils attending government primary schools was 329,183, of whom fewer than one in five were girls. This disparity between the sexes is a general characteristic of most Near East countries, but the situation in Turkey reflects the influence of the traditional Moslem attitude toward women which, however, is rapidly changing.

In addition to the elementary schools of the government, there are also other primary schools. Greek, Armenian and Jewish communities have long been accustomed to maintain school systems of their own. Under the new government régime community and foreign schools are required to employ Turkish teachers of language, history and geography, and are subject to governmental supervision and inspection. Owing to the exodus from Anatolia of Greeks and Armenians, most of the community schools are now located in Constantinople. The number of community schools outside Constantinople is only twenty-eight, and of this number eighteen are Jewish. Only five are Armenian and none are Greek. These figures reflect the extent to which Christian minorities have left Anatolia.

Besides community schools carried on by religious groups, there are primary schools operated by foreigners, notably by the French. In 1923–24 the total number of pupils attending the primary departments of foreign and community schools in Constantinople was

placed at 25,195, of whom nearly half were girls. This figure is roughly about the same as the combined enrollment of all governmental primary schools in Constantinople. Outside of Constantinople the primary pupils in foreign and community schools numbered about 8,000.

There are, also, in the more important towns, Turkish private schools whose courses of instruction are mainly primary. The reports show that in Constantinople alone there were thirty-one private schools, and in the rest of the country, twenty-one. All told, about 5,000 pupils attend these schools.

In 1923–24 the number of primary pupils in schools of all classes in Turkey was approximately 370,000. Although the number of children of school age is not known, it is apparent that the present facilities are adequate to accommodate only a small proportion of them.

The government is making real efforts to increase the number of its schools, and it is known that during the years since the report was published hundreds of new schools have been established.

To train its teachers the government conducts twenty normal schools. There were twenty-four in operation a few years ago, and the decrease in number is attributed to the educational study made several years ago by Dr. John Dewey which recommended that the government operate fewer but better schools. Under the new arrangement, twelve schools are for boys and eight for girls. According to the 1923–24 report, 3,990 students were attending normal schools, 2,560 of them being men and the remainder women.

Students who attend normal schools do so at government expense; but graduates must agree to serve as teachers for eight years after graduation in any post assigned them. If for any reason they fail to meet this obligation, they must reimburse the government for the pro-rata amount of the unfulfilled contract. A teacher who has failed to finish the required term of service cannot be employed in any other kind of government service until the debt to the school has been paid. The shortage of teachers in Turkey is so pronounced that candidates who do not have the required amount of schooling are allowed to become teachers provided they successfully pass certain government examinations.

Besides the regular schools, there is a Higher Normal School in Constantinople, connected with the university, and intended primarily to train teachers for secondary schools.

Secondary education in government schools is given in lycées, of which there are two types—the incomplete and the complete. The incomplete lycée, which comprises three years of middle school plus one or two years of lycée work, provides training for pupils that have finished the primary grades. Available reports show that there were

seventy-six schools of this type, of which eleven were exclusively for girls. The total number of students attending these schools was given as 6,614, of whom more than a third were from Constantinople. Seventeen vilayets had no such schools. The complete lycée is supposed to offer a three-year course in addition to the three years of middle-school work. The latest figures show there were eighteen such schools in Turkey, three of which were exclusively for girls. Students numbered 1,128, of whom more than half were in Constantinople schools.

The quality of instruction in government lycées varies widely. Probably the best lycée in Turkey is the Galata Serai for boys located in the Pera section of Constantinople. It was originally started under French auspices and the influence of the French is still dominant. The school, which accommodates more than 1,000 pupils, not only has well-trained teachers but is equipped with modern laboratories, and other facilities.

Besides the government lycées, there are secondary schools that are operated either by different minority groups or by foreigners. The Armenians have a lycée for girls and one for boys in Constantinople, as had the Greeks until recently, when the school for girls was closed because of some infringement of the law. The secondary schools conducted by foreigners will be discussed in detail later.

Turkey has but one university which is located at Constantinople and is divided into five faculties—law, science, letters, theology and medicine. There are also affiliated schools for dentists, for pharmacists and for midwives. By far the largest group of students is enrolled in medical courses. In 1923–24 the students in the school of medicine numbered 551, while 408 more were taking dentistry and 340 were studying pharmacy. Eighty women were learning to be midwives. On the whole the training is high-grade. The law school is the second largest department of the university, with 428 students, including a number of women. The Turks are very proud of the fact that several women have already been admitted to minor court positions. The School of Letters enrolled 226 pupils and the Science School 137. The position of the School of Theology is precarious. So few students take this course that the department may be closed entirely.

Besides the university and its affiliated schools, there are several institutions of university rank. One is the Engineering School, which is also located at Constantinople and is operated under the Ministry of Public Works instead of under the Ministry of Education. This school gives six years of training to graduates of secondary schools. Board and tuition are entirely free, but owing to defective preparation, the course is so hard that many students drop out during the first two years. In 1923–24 the student body

numbered only 83, but by 1926–27 it had increased to 140. It is significant that in Turkey, as in other Near East countries, many more young men are studying to be lawyers than to be engineers.

The Department of Agriculture operates three schools of university rank near Constantinople, each with from 50 to 100 pupils. One is a school of Forestry, the second is a Veterinary School, and the third an Agricultural School. The last is particularly well equipped with farming machinery of the latest type, including reapers, binders and mowing machines. The graduates for the most part become agricultural agents and inspectors rather than practical farmers. The Agricultural Department, however, operates about a dozen agricultural schools of secondary grade which are scattered throughout the country and are intended primarily to give practical training to future farmers.

In addition to the agricultural schools, there are a few commercial schools operated by the Ministry of Commerce. The most important is the Superior Commercial School at Constantinople, which is of secondary rank and has grown very rapidly. Except for a few miscellaneous institutions, such as the government military schools, and the law school recently opened at Angora, this completes the list of schools in Turkey save for those conducted by foreigners.

The latest available figures show that there are eighty-two foreign schools in Turkey, of which number fifty-six are located in Constantinople and twenty-six outside that city. During recent years the number of schools outside Constantinople has been considerably reduced, as is but natural because a large proportion of the pupils in foreign schools were drawn from the Christian minorities that have since left the country in such large numbers.

French schools comprise nearly half of all foreign educational institutions. Because of the importance of the French language among the intellectual classes of the Near East, they have attracted large numbers of students, particularly as they are maintained at a high standard. The majority of the French schools are operated under religious auspices.

The Italian schools number sixteen, of which nine are in Constantinople and the rest in Adalia, Smyrna and Adrianople.

There are three British schools, all at Constantinople. One of them, known as "The Scotch Mission," is operated primarily as a missionary enterprise for Jews and has an enrollment of about 400. The other two are known as high schools and have about 100 pupils each, one being for boys and the other for girls. Each offers both primary and secondary courses and was originally intended to meet the needs of English-speaking residents.

Eleven American schools, six in Asia Minor and five in Constantinople, were in operation in the fall of 1926, these being exclusive of

the courses in Constantinople conducted by the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association. With the exception of Robert College, all of the American schools now in Turkey were started by the foreign mission boards. The schools at present in operation are only a fraction of the pre-War number, as is shown by the following figures from the Annual Report of the American Board for 1910 summarizing the number and enrollment of their Turkish institutions:

Institutions	*Number*	*Enrollment*
Colleges	6	1,219
Boarding and High Schools	29	3,012
Other schools	395	19,234
TOTAL	430	23,465

One of the six schools in Anatolia is the *International College,* at Smyrna, which was founded as a boys' school in 1879, and which gives junior-college and preparatory training to about 300 students, of whom 97 per cent are Turks. The Rev. Alexander MacLachlan has recently retired as president of the institution and Dr. Cass Reed has been appointed in his place. Until 1913 the school was located in the city of Smyrna but in that year it moved into a nearby suburb called Paradise, a change made possible largely through a bequest of $20,000 from Mr. John S. Kennedy which was subsequently supplemented by his wife. The land now owned by the college amounts to about seventy acres, and there are seven buildings arranged according to a definite plan. A large part of the school's running expenses is met by student fees, but about $30,000 additional is needed annually to balance the budget. The school is affiliated with the Association of Near East Colleges, and will share in the results of the current drive for funds conducted by that organization. The college also hopes to participate to the extent of half a million dollars in the recently distributed Hall Estate. Until December, 1926, the American Board paid the salaries of the American personnel.

The five other American schools located outside Constantinople are briefly described below. In each case the American Board contributes the salaries of missionaries and usually gives a small additional grant of money to the school.

The *American School for Girls,* at Adana, was founded in 1884 and provides both primary and secondary training. During the school year 1926 the enrollment was 156 pupils compared with 130 the year before. The majority of the students are Turks and the rest Arabs, Armenians, Hebrews and Europeans. The work of the school was seriously hampered by the order of the Turkish government in February, 1926, that four teachers leave at once. Had it

not been for the coöperation of certain Americans not connected with the school, it could hardly have continued to function.

The *American Girls' School,* at Brousa, is really two schools—one a day school of kindergarten grade in the center of the city, and the other a boarding-school in the suburbs. The kindergarten, conducted by Turkish teachers under the direction of an American, has about a hundred pupils and the boarding-school has about the same number. In addition to carrying on the two schools, the missionaries at Brousa have not only provided weaving for refugee women, but lately began doing social service work on a small scale. Their experience leads them to believe that a social center might be successfully developed in Brousa.[3]

The *Anatolia Girls' School,* of Merzifoun, closed in January, 1921, was reopened in January, 1924. In 1925 the school began with thirty-six students; and in 1926 with forty, of whom twenty were boarders. A dozen of the pupils are daughters of the leading tobacco growers of the district.

The *American Collegiate Institute,* of Smyrna, is the outgrowth of the Turkish department of the American College for Girls which began in Smyrna in 1877. After the Smyrna fire of 1922, when the school plant in the city was destroyed, this Turkish department was reorganized and constitutes the present institution. In 1925–26 it had ninety-three pupils, all of whom were Turks except ten Jews and two Germans. The course of study includes both primary and secondary grades and covers eleven years. The school has been housed in unsatisfactory rented quarters, primarily because the Turkish authorities would not give their permission for the erection of a new plant.

St. Paul's College, Tarsus, was originally established in 1887. It was closed by the Turks several years ago but in 1925 was allowed to carry on without interruption. The school has been hampered, however, by difficulties with the authorities. The enrollment, which in 1925 was seventy-two, increased in 1926 to eighty-two, half of which number were boarders. The majority of the pupils are in the primary department but the school also gives courses of secondary grade.

Of the five American schools in Constantinople, two are colleges and three are of lower grade. In many ways *Robert College* is the most important foreign school for boys in Turkey. It occupies a splendid location on the outskirts of Constantinople; its buildings and equipment compare favorably with the leading institutions of its size in America, and the assets of the school are valued at more than three and a quarter million dollars. The enrollment is now more

3 Since this survey report was finished, certain American teachers at the Brousa school were tried and convicted on charges of engaging in religious propaganda.

than 750 as compared with fewer than 450 students before the Great War. Students from as many as twenty-five nationalities have been represented in a single year. The college is naturally very proud of the fact that these boys live and work together in harmony. On the basis of the predominant nationality attending, the history of the school may be roughly divided into three equal periods—first, the Bulgarian, second the Armenian, and third the Greek. A fourth period is now beginning with the Turks predominating. At present half the pupils are Turks.

The school offers both preparatory and college-grade courses. The number of students taking technical work is steadily growing. For the first forty years, the college offered only the A.B. course; but in 1902 the B.S. course was added; and in 1910 a commerce course was opened. A bequest from Mr. John S. Kennedy made it possible to start an Engineering School in the fall of 1912. Quite recently agricultural work has been commenced. The plan is to give both elementary and advanced work in field crops, dairying, gardening and poultry-raising. A two-year industrial course is being given to prepare young men to become skilled workmen and supervisors, the chief requirement for entrance being a certificate from the Turkish primary school. In the fall of 1926, sixty-five students were enrolled in this department. Three courses are offered in the School of Engineering—Civil, Electrical and Mechanical. This is the only foreign school recognized by the Turkish government as of university grade. The Ministry of the Interior is maintaining twenty-five students in the School of Engineering, paying all their living expenses. The course covers four years. Between 1912 and 1926 there were fifty-three graduates. Of the total student body of Robert College, nearly one-quarter are taking one or more technical courses.

There are nearly ninety teachers on the college staff, of which number about a quarter constitute the permanent faculty. Faculty members receive their appointment from the trustees and constitute the governing body of the college. The financial statement for the year ending June 30, 1925, gives the total income from all sources as $277,424.36 and total expenditures as $442,274.50, leaving a deficit of $164,850.14. Since that time the financial position of the school has been improved by its participation in the drive put on in America by the Association of Near East Colleges, and the school also will participate to the extent of approximately half a million dollars in the Hall Estate.

Constantinople Women's College developed from a high school for girls which was founded in Stamboul, Constantinople, in 1871, but was very soon moved to Scutari. In 1890 the school was incorporated as a college under the laws of the State of Massachusetts. In 1906 a fire destroyed half the plant and led to the decision to move to the

present beautiful site at Arnaoutkeuy, on the European side of the Bosphorus. The dedication of the new grounds and buildings took place on June 3, 1914. The campus, which covers seventy-five acres, compares very favorably both in situation and in buildings with the leading women's colleges of America.

This institution offers a program of studies leading to a Bachelor of Arts degree. The government no longer gives it the privilege, which it formerly had, of granting a Master's degree. Just after the War the school installed the necessary facilities to provide medical training for girls; but several years ago it was compelled to drop this phase of its work because the Turkish government wanted to concentrate this type of professional training in its own schools.

The students of the school are enrolled in two departments—the college and the preparatory. The total number in attendance in 1925–26 was 434, of whom 229 were in the college and 205 were in the preparatory school. The total number of boarding students was 183. Of the combined total of 434 students, 156 were Moslem Turks, while in 1912–13, when the student body numbered 266, there were only 50 Turks.

In response to changing economic, social and political conditions have come changes in the curriculum. More emphasis is being placed upon commercial training, and also on home economics and physical education. The scientific departments are receiving increasing numbers of students in elective courses since more and more students are entering medical schools after graduation and so need scientific preparation. The curriculum of the school has been affected by the decision of the government to increase the amount of instruction in the Turkish language from two hours to five, and to insist upon two hours of Turkish geography and two of Turkish history. These nine hours, coming as they do in the last two years, have congested programs and made it impossible for as many elective courses to be chosen.

The school is affiliated with the Association of Near East Colleges and will also participate to the extent of nearly half a million dollars in the Hall bequest.

The *American Academy for Girls,* which was opened in Scutari on September 15, 1922, is a continuation of the Girls High School of Adapazar. It offers kindergarten courses, a seven-year preparatory course and a four-year high-school course. One of the new features recently introduced is a home economics department which is an elective course of two years.

The enrollment in 1926–27 was 271, which compares with 184 in 1922–23. The number of Turkish students increased from three to eighty-four. The American Board pays the salaries of four American teachers and, in addition, about $660 in cash toward the support

of the school. The rest of the support comes mainly from student fees. Day students pay £T. 60 and boarders, £T. 350 a year.

The *American Collegiate Institute,* at Geuz Tepe, is the continuation of a school founded in 1882 at Bahjejik by the Rev. John Price Gleason. It offers primary and secondary training to about 135 boys. In 1926 eighty were boarders and fifty-five were day pupils. Of the total number, 70 per cent were Turks. The work here has been hampered by the frequent changes made by the government in the Turkish teachers assigned to the school. The cost of board and tuition totals $233 a year. The American Board pays the salaries of the American staff and, in addition, contributes $1,500 in cash. The teaching staff in 1926 consisted of three permanent American teachers, one American instructor and eight other teachers.

The *Gedik Pasha School* is an elementary school which was started as an outgrowth of Sunday-school and neighborhood work opened in Gedik Pasha in 1880. The first class received eighth-grade diplomas in 1899; since then about two hundred pupils have received certificates. The largest class had sixteen pupils and was graduated in June, 1919. In the early days no Turks attended the school; but later their numbers gradually increased until now they constitute 43 per cent of the student body. In the lower classes, Turkish children predominate. For many years the enrollment has varied between 225 and 250.

Two foreign agencies of a partly educational character in Constantinople are the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A.

The *Young Men's Christian Association* began work in Constantinople in 1913. At first its work was confined to Pera, the foreign section of the city where the organization bought a hotel property and remodelled it for its own use. Some years ago, however, a second branch was started in Stamboul, the Turkish section of the city. The total membership, including sustaining members, is about 1,100. The Pera branch has 650 members, 18 per cent of whom are Turks; while in Stamboul the Turks constitute about half the membership. The program at both branches provides physical education, night classes, boys' club work, discussion groups, concerts and lectures. Night courses, particularly in languages, are offered, the total enrollment in these courses being approximately seventy. The staff consists of four Americans and nine other workers, three of whom are Moslems. The total budget, exclusive of the salaries of the four American workers, amounted, in 1926, to $21,000, of which $8,000 was contributed from America.

During the summer of 1926 the Y. M. C. A. was severely criticized in the press because at a conference at Helsingfors, a Persian boy, who was sent to the conference from the Constantinople branch, made the statement that "the time is not distant when Turkish youth will

join the increasingly growing body of Christian youth sitting at the feet of Jesus, seeking the truth and the will of God, the Father of all men.'' This speech was published in a magazine called *World's Youth,* and through this channel reached Turkey, where it created a sensation. It was widely quoted and misquoted. Violent objection was raised both to the idea that a Persian boy should speak for Turkey and to the implication that the Turks were becoming Christian, and the incident was used as alleged evidence to prove that the Y. M. C. A. was a propagandistic, religious organization. These attacks, however, did not result in action by the government. Indeed, there are those who feel that the incident has helped to clarify the issue of religious freedom.

The *Young Women's Christian Association* also operates two service centers in Constantinople. Figures for June 1, 1926, showed the total membership to be 894, of whom 655 belonged to the Pera unit and 239 to the Stamboul branch.[4] Only twenty-two of the former unit, but 125 of the latter were Moslems. The staff consists of four Americans and eight other workers, three of whom are Moslems.

The educational program of the Y. W. C. A. includes educational classes, clubs and general activities. During the twelve months' period ending September 1, 1926, no fewer than 525 different girls registered for courses. The language and commercial courses are especially important. In addition to general health and recreational programs, the organization conducts a summer camp on the Sea of Marmora. In a recent summer the average attendance was forty-five and the total registration 338. The daily camp program is similar to that used in America.

American philanthropy is also contributing to the Turkish ''Ojak,'' or Fireside, a social agency organized in Constantinople in 1912, which has for its object ''regenerating the national life through the young people of both sexes, on the basis of a new national culture fashioned largely after the ideas of occidental civilization.'' The organization has grown very rapidly until it has some two hundred chapters and about 45,000 members. The program of the organization includes lectures, public classes and other activities of an educational nature. Through his local representative, Mr. Arthur Nash, the American clothing merchant, contributed $120,000 to the Ojak movement. The money was given outright, with virtually no restrictions, and exemplifies the supreme confidence of the donor in the trustworthiness of the movement.

In addition to the schools and other educational institutions now in operation in Turkey, there are a number of school plants which the government has closed and which for the present it will not allow to reopen.

[4] More recent figures show the membership to be 1,264.

The detailed statements about the different American schools operating in Turkey must have made it clear that these institutions have been passing through very critical times. Recent history is well summarized by Mr. Luther R. Fowle, the treasurer of the American Board work in Turkey, and a life-long resident of the country:

In 1922 most Turks expected that the missionaries would shortly follow to foreign lands their non-Turkish constituencies. Why trouble to put them out when shortly they will go of themselves?

In 1923 astonishment was often expressed that the missionaries still stayed. And those Turks in touch with them began to find these Americans eager and able to help them in every good effort for advance.

In 1924 Turkish pupils in large numbers began to enter American schools and colleges in Constantinople and the six other American schools in Anatolia. The government began to closely control and inspect these schools. Secularization, required courses in Turkish language, history and geography, numerous administrative measures the result of ultra-nationalism of the time —these caused endless difficulties to each and every school. But with it all there still was the great desire to modernize and westernize and a confidence in the American sense of fair play. . . . 1925 marked the frank acceptance by thoughtful Turks of the existence and usefulness of American schools and hospitals in Turkey. Government officials and deputies are seeking education for their children in American schools. . . .

There are those, of course, who do not share Mr. Fowle's point of view about the present status of American schools in Turkey; but conversations with a number of thoughtful observers—native as well as foreign—lead to the opinion that the schools will be allowed to function provided they comply with the basic demands of the Turkish authorities.

One of the most fundamental of these demands is the insistence that education be secularized. The dilemma which this ultimatum presents to the American schools in Turkey that are conducted and supported as missionary enterprises is clearly presented in a recent article by John Dewey which, because of the unusual importance and significance of the issue discussed, is presented nearly in its entirety.

Undoubtedly the direct American interest in Turkey centers in the numerous and important educational institutions which American religious bodies have founded in that country. An American concerned about the fortunes of these schools is likely to think of the action of the Turkish government (too often of an arbitrary nature) as if American schools exhausted the problem of Turkey with respect to foreign schools. The Turk on the contrary thinks of American schools in terms of his experiences with a variety of other foreign schools which far outnumber the American. Hence a growth of misunderstandings on both sides. I want in this article to say something about the larger educational problem within which the question of American schools has to be placed.

In the first place, by far the greater number of foreign schools in Turkey have been Armenian and Greek; these schools of course have been religious

or parochial ones. In the case of Greek schools in particular, the schoolteacher has been in the past, along with the priest, the propagandist of "The Greek Idea"—namely, a new Greek state, including a large part of Asia Minor as well as all of Macedonia, and having Constantinople as its capital. Armenian schools with Armenian churches were the chief instruments in getting and nurturing Armenian nationalists. It is not surprising therefore, that the Turks are antecedently disposed to approach the question of all foreign schools with suspicion as to their bias. There is a presumption that any foreign school has designs which are hostile to Turkish nationalism. And while they are willing to acquit American schools of political designs, it is hard for them to free their minds from the idea that they have some concealed purpose—a feeling strengthened by the fact that these schools were started under religious auspices which in Turkish experience have always been anti-Turkish. At first hearing, it is strange to learn that in most respects the still remaining Greek and Armenian schools face a simpler problem than other foreign schools. But the explanation is easy. They have as pupils only their own nationals; they are "community schools" and Turkey is habituated to the idea of foreign communities retaining their own language, religion, and customs. There is no danger of religious proselytism, for they have no Moslem students; their teachers are examined and receive their licenses to teach from the Turkish Ministry of Education; their course of study and methods are supervised and controlled. Moreover the spirit of Greek and Armenian nationalism within Turkey is now so broken that there is no immediate fear of its revival.

Next in importance and also outnumbering the American schools are those of French origin. Before the War there were over a million pupils in the empire of Turkey in schools under French management, and over two million persons a year secured relief or assistance in French hospitals, clinics and charitable institutions. These institutions even though under private and religious control were subsidized liberally by the French governmental funds. Europeans in general as well as the Turks take it for granted that educational and religious enterprises have economical and political ends to subserve, and are frankly incredulous of American claims that our schools have no such aims. French influence was increased by the fact that the chief and for a long time, under Abdul Hamid, the only Turkish public secondary school had a French director, gave all the courses of instruction in the French language, and, although a Turkish governmental school, was liberally subsidized by the French government. Even now, although the French directorate and even subdirectorate have been abolished by the new Turkish nationalists, and only sciences are taught in French, the French government pays the salaries of teachers of the French language. This school, the Galata-Sarai, has been, I should say, the chief single influence in disseminating western and liberal ideas among the Turks, and has played an honorable rôle in the formation of the New Turkey. Yet its whole record is such as to strengthen in the minds of the Turks the belief that any educational undertaking supported in Turkey by foreigners has political motives and governmental direction back of it.

But, of course, the chief factor in determining the political slant of French educational and religious activities has been the claim of France since the middle of the sixteenth century to be the protector of all non-Moslem

religious interests in the Near East, a claim once recognized officially by Turkey, and, after it had been reduced to a protectorate of Roman Catholic interests, confirmed by the Pope. This claim, it is hardly too much to say, has been the cornerstone of French diplomacy in the Near East, and since it has been supported by French cabinets that were openly anti-clerical in domestic affairs, it has correspondingly strengthened the Turkish belief that no foreign cultural undertaking is simply educational or philanthropic in nature. Of late, the situation is complicated by increasing rivalry between France and Italy. As a French writer naïvely expresses it, when Catholic interests in Turkey which are under French auspices receive a check, the papacy in its religious character is grieved but in its Italian aspect rejoices. . . .

This inadequate sketch should at least make it clear that the Turks approach the question of the activities of American educational institutions with adverse preconceptions which have a certain amount of justification in their experience with the schools of other foreign nationalities, and that American schools have offered less than those of these other countries. . . .

The outstanding fact in the record of American schools in Turkey, is that they have devoted themselves chiefly to the education of Armenians, Greeks and Bulgarians, in other words to those elements of the population which were always the tacit and often the open enemies of Turkey. It was humanly impossible that, as Turkish nationalism developed and finally won a military triumph, the memory of this fact should not make the Turkish government doubtful about the value to the nation of American schools, while it rendered the Turk oversensitive to any sign on the part of any anti-Turkish national group.

Given the fact that these schools were conducted under missionary auspices, and with religious aims, and given the obduracy of the Moslem believer to conversion, this state of affairs could hardly have been avoided, so that appraisal of praise or blame for what has happened in the past is not worth while. But there is a problem which in my judgment is fundamental for the future and which must be faced. It may be stated as a dilemma. If the religious purpose is to continue to dominate American schools or even to color them in any marked way (and the same thing holds of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A.), American institutions will continue to deal mainly with non-Turkish elements in the population, and hence remain an essentially alien and suspected factor in the Turkish body politic. On the other hand, these institutions can play an immensely useful rôle in the modernization of Turkey on condition that they devote themselves primarily to education of Turkish young men and women—a condition which definitely means the complete subordination of Christian religious aims and the surrender of the schools, in spirit as well as in outward form, to secular social and scientific methods. I may of course have a wrong understanding of the situation, but to the best of my belief this dilemma is a flat one. Any failure to meet it or effort to straddle it will result in continued friction between American and Turkish interests and service which American ideas and ideals are capable of rendering at a critical juncture to the experiment of transforming Turkey. And it hardly need be said that the success or failure of this experiment, in view of the consequences both in the Near East and in the Moslem world, is of immense import to the future peace of the world.

A Turkish—and of course Moslem—graduate of an American school in Turkey said to me that if in the two generations of its existence in Turkey that particular higher institution had turned out four hundred men trained to be leaders in Turkish schools and civil administration, Turkey would soon be made over. He made the point of his remark clearer by saying that if this school had, through its graduates, done as much for Turkey as it had done for the neighboring state of Bulgaria, the whole social and economic outlook of Turkey would be radically different to what it actually is. In many ways, he went on to say, the very fact that American schools had done so much more for minority elements in the population than they had done for the Turkish had worked harm to both the minority and the Turkish elements. It was an indispensable condition of peace, mutual understanding and harmony that all factors in the population should either have remained on the same level of ignorance or else should have progressed together. But American schools had developed democratic ideals among the Greeks and Armenians in Turkey, had given them modern ideas, aroused their initiative and equipped them with the tools of modern life, while the Turks had been left practically in their medieval state of mind.

The result was two-fold. The Greeks and Armenians were naturally stimulated to work for their political independence, which in turn created the hostility of the Turks, and the Turks, seeing themselves outstripped in industry and commerce because of the modern education of Greeks and Armenians, were roused to envy and hatred which easily were fanned into the flames of war and massacre. I shall not forget the earnestness with which he assured me that if all the factors in the population had remained in the same condition of ignorance and backwardness, the various nationalities would still be getting along reasonably well together.

The point was made without resentment. I have never seen any person as objective as are educated Turks in discussing their wrongs, a fact connected possibly with their fatalistic philosophy. It was made in connection with a discussion of what these schools are to be and do in the future, and in that reference it is most significant. If American schools in Turkey, because they have been founded under missionary auspices, are bound to perpetuate the old distinction between Christian and non-Christian and to be anti-Turk because they are pro-Christian, I cannot see that they will accomplish a great deal for Turkey, and it is reasonably certain that they will be points of diplomatic friction, with a tendency, as far as it goes, to strain political and economic relations between the United States and Turkey. On the other hand, what these schools have done in the way of enlightening and liberating non-Turkish elements is sufficient proof of what they can do for Turkey if they make it their main business to discover and educate irrespective of religious belief, the able Turkish young men and women who are to be the intellectual and social leaders of future Turkey.

Health

Little precise information is available about health conditions in Turkey. Even such basic facts as the number of births and deaths are as yet unavailable. Before the Great War, Constantinople was the only city that made any attempt to keep records of this sort.

Today the larger cities are just beginning to collect vital statistics. The present situation is revealed by the fact that the statistical division of the Health Department at Angora consists of a single individual. Not only are basic data few, but the government is sometimes reluctant to make public the figures it has. In the circumstances the present discussion has had to rely primarily upon qualitative rather than upon quantitative statements.

The administration of public health in Turkey is in the hands of a cabinet officer known as the Minister of Hygiene and Social Assistance. The Angora personnel of the ministry is small, but the field staff is comparatively large. The unit of the health organization is the "caza," or county, of which there are 380 in the country. In each caza the ministry maintains a doctor who is required to treat the poor of the district and to distribute medicine without charge. This doctor, among other things, is also supposed to report the number of births and deaths, and of contagious diseases, to inspect foodstuffs, and to administer vaccines. In addition to his official duties, he is allowed to carry on his private practice. Besides maintaining a doctor in every caza, the government also supports a number of midwives, sanitary inspectors, etc., as well as a health inspector in each of the vilayets.

The pay of the health department personnel is low. The base pay of caza doctors in only £T. 20 a month, and few doctors in this group make more than £T. 75 monthly. The trouble has been that the government has not had enough money to pay its doctors a reasonable wage, and the situation is becoming worse rather than better. The national budget for the fiscal year 1926–27 was 25 per cent less than that for the preceding year.

The activities of the government's Health Department are supplemented by the Turkish Red Crescent, which is a national organization similar to the Red Cross of other countries.

The most serious diseases in Turkey are malaria, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, scarlet fever, smallpox, typhoid, typhus and diphtheria. Trachoma and dysentery are also very common.

Malaria is generally conceded to be the most serious health problem confronting Anatolia. In spite of its seriousness, however, little is accurately known about the incidence of the disease. Records show that out of 33,080 persons who were medically examined in the Aidin district, 12,810, or more than one in three, were suffering from malaria. This ratio, however, cannot be accepted as that for the entire country, since the disease is unusually prevalent around Aidin.

Under the rule of the Sultans, nothing was done to fight malaria; but late in 1924 the present government established four anti-malarial commissions to work in the highly infected districts of Adana, Aidin, Angora and Charchamba (near Samsoun). A visit to the Adana

center revealed that the commissions are composed of an earnest body of Turkish doctors who are doing an effective and valuable service, hampered, however, by lack of funds. The recent curtailment of the national budget will prevent, for the time being at least, any extension of this service to other areas. Besides the work of the four commissions, the Turkish government recently paid the expenses of two German malarialogists who made a scientific study of the disease.

Next to malaria, tuberculosis is probably the most destructive disease in Turkey. Figures for 1922 show that of 16,256 reported deaths in Constantinople, 2,685, or nearly one in six, were from consumption. One cannot walk through the cities and towns of the country without seeing people on every hand who are virtually dying on their feet from the disease. Facilities for combating tuberculosis are entirely inadequate. The hospital beds available for consumptive patients are so few in number that only a fraction of the cases needing treatment can be cared for, and in the entire country there is but one tuberculosis sanatorium, which has a capacity of only fifty beds. There are also a few tuberculosis dispensaries, such as the one supported by the Ministry of Health at Stamboul, and the municipal dispensary at Smyrna; but as lack of accommodations makes it necessary for patients to live at home, the work of these dispensaries is seriously handicapped.

No figures are available showing the spread in Turkey of venereal diseases, but the number of cases is known to be large. According to a law passed in 1921, all venereal cases must be reported and treated, the immediate members of the patient's family must also be examined, and an infected individual who wishes to marry must obtain a certificate of cure from a physician. Medical examination of all men before marriage is required. A number of the larger towns have venereal hospitals which are usually small and which are intended primarily for the treatment of registered prostitutes. Often they also serve as venereal dispensaries. Recently two commissions have been organized for anti-venereal work, one at Sivas and one at Brousa, where the disease is particularly prevalent. At both places each registered syphilitic is treated by specialists for three years.

Trachoma is the most serious eye disease of Turkey. The amount of infection is said to be appalling; but definite statistics are available only for the Malatia district, where 80 per cent to 90 per cent of all the people are known to be affected. Very recently a campaign has been started against the disease. A commission of five doctors, especially trained in anti-trachoma work, was sent to Malatia, where a hospital and three dispensaries have been started. Other commissions of the same type are badly needed.

Dysentery is also very common, primarily because of the lack of sanitary conveniences. As usual, no figures showing the incidence

of the disease are available. Dysentery, like malaria, is an ailment that seriously reduces the patient's energy even though it is not immediately fatal.

Accurate information about infant death-rates is also non-existent. Even in Constantinople, the one city that has tried to keep records over a period of years, vital statistics are inadequate. Infant mortality, however, is known to be very high, some authorities estimating that the number of children that die during the first five years is as high as 50 per cent, while estimates for the Interior run even higher. Two important factors in the situation are the ignorance of the mother and the lack of well-trained midwives. The only school for midwives in Turkey is one affiliated with the Turkish University which is run in connection with the Maternity Hospital at Constantinople. The course covers two years. Figures for the school year 1923–24 show that eighty students were in training.

A very serious factor in the health situation at present is the increasing practice of abortion. In many places, as a result of the wars, there is an excess of women over men. There is also a lack of restraint of the sex instinct; but owing to economic conditions it has become necessary to limit the number of children. Methods of birth control are little known, hence the increase in abortion. Conditions in this regard are bad in Constantinople and worse in the Interior. There is a law against abortion, but it is rarely enforced. The clinic of the American Hospital at Constantinople, according to report, very frequently finds women who have practised abortion on two or more occasions. Often the operation is performed in the crudest way, thus endangering the mother's life.

A private child-welfare organization known as "The Society for the Protection of Children" has been started, with headquarters in Angora. In the fall of 1926 this agency was running a nursery in Angora and a milk station in Constantinople; but at that time it was planning a considerable extension of its activities in the near future. A fund of $50,000 recently raised in America should make this increased program possible. In 1926 the Society also inaugurated a sterilized milk supply station in Smyrna. In spite of the great need for child-welfare work, a baby clinic operated in Stamboul by the American Hospital was closed on August 19, 1926, by order of the government, even though the clinic had been conducted by Turkish doctors and nurses, and though two-thirds of the patients had been Turks.

The health situation is seriously complicated by the dearth of doctors. Figures published in *Turkey: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook* show that even before the Great War "the total number of qualified doctors did not exceed 2,200, and some 350 of these died during the War. The services of many more were lost through the

detachment from Turkey of 'Iraq (Mesopotamia), Syria, and other parts of the Ottoman Empire.'' At present the number of physicians is around 1,750. Assuming that the total population is thirteen and a half million, this is one physician to every 7,700 inhabitants. In many places the actual situation is far worse than this average would indicate, because most of the doctors are concentrated in the bigger cities.

The only medical school in the country is the one connected with the Turkish University at Constantinople. At present the enrollment is around 500. The school is well equipped and the work, which covers a course of five years, is of high grade. About eighty-five doctors are graduated annually. Besides the school of medicine, there is an affiliated school of dentistry and another for pharmacists. The need for doctors in Turkey is so great that the Ministry of Health has made it possible for certain students to attend the entire course without expense to themselves, provided they will agree to spend five years in the Public Health Service. All graduates must serve at least two years in this service. This is the only way in which it has been possible to secure doctors for rural districts.

In spite of the pressing need for more doctors, the government, several years ago, passed a law which prevents any foreign physicians from practising in Turkey except those who were licensed prior to 1914. Exceptions have been made in favor of foreign doctors who became established in Turkey after the War and before 1923.

The Turkish government has placed special emphasis upon the development of hospitals. Nevertheless the present service leaves much to be desired. The total number of beds in the country is less than 10,000, or an average of three beds to each 4,000 of the population. Of the total number of beds nearly a third are in government hospitals, while about the same number are in local institutions. The rest are divided among municipal, religious, private and foreign hospitals. Besides hospitals, there are more than one hundred dispensaries now in operation, and about forty more will probably be opened in the near future.

Figures secured from the Ministry of Health show that the foreign hospitals in Turkey, which are largely run by Americans, Frenchmen and Italians, have a combined capacity of more than 1,100 beds.

Of the four American hospitals, three are being supported by the American Board.

The American Hospital of Constantinople was established in 1920. The unusual number of Americans in the city at that period accounts for the fact that at first the hospital's receipts exceeded expenses but since then, with the decrease in the American population, deficits have steadily increased until now receipts amount to less than half of the expenses. The maintenance of the hospital depends mainly

upon contributions of friends of the enterprise. There are 100 beds in use with a daily average of fifty-three patients. The number of hospital days for the year 1926 was 17,742. The number of out-patient visits was 9,457. The five doctors on the staff at present are all Turkish subjects. For the first four years, six American nurses made up the teaching and supervising staff. By the end of that time two classes of nurses were graduated from the school. The number of American nurses was therefore reduced until now there are but two. On the other hand, the number of local graduates on the staff was increased materially.

The American Hospital at Adana was started in 1909 by Dr. Cyril H. Haas, who is still in charge. The hospital owns its own plant, which is quite advantageously situated. It is hoped to add two new wings to the present plant, which now has a capacity of sixty beds. Besides Dr. Haas, the staff includes a Turkish doctor, a pharmacist, one American nurse, two graduate nurses, four other nurses in training, a matron, and certain other helpers. During the last fiscal year, 525 patients were treated in the hospital for a total of 7,289 bed days, 1,705 of which were furnished free. The number of visits to the clinic connected with the hospital was 11,489, compared with 10,911 for the preceding year. The American Board pays the salaries of the American personnel, but all other expenses must be met from the fees charged. This necessarily limits the number of persons who can be treated free. In order that he may be in a better position to serve the poor without charge, Dr. Haas hopes that it will be possible for the American Board to meet 20 per cent of the running expenses of the plant.

The Azariah Smith Memorial Hospital at Ghazi-Aintab was organized in 1884. The plant itself, which is the property of the American Board and has a capacity of 100 beds, is quite extensive, including the hospital building proper, an out-patient building, a dispensary, and several small service buildings. On October 8, 1923, the plant was closed because the physician in charge did not have a Turkish license. It was reopened on February 13, 1924, upon the arrival of Dr. Charles C. Piper (British), who had the necessary license, granted in 1897. Very often, however, surgical cases have had to be sent away from the very doors of the hospital because Dr. Piper is not allowed to operate, not having the special certificate needed. The cost of operating the plant, apart from the missionaries' salaries and traveling expenses, which were met by the American Board, was about $4,000, of which amount more than $2,600 was obtained from fees.

The American Hospital at Talas is also an American Board plant established many years ago and operated under the direction of Dr. Charles E. Clark. Statistics for 1925–26 show that sixty-eight patients were admitted to the hospital, while 900 were treated in the

clinic. These figures are lower than similar totals for the preceding year. The decrease can be explained in part, at least, by the lessening of the region's Christian population. The hospital's American personnel consists of Dr. and Mrs. Clark and Miss Sylvia T. Eddy, a registered trained nurse.

Some other American Board hospitals in the Interior are not in operation at the present time primarily because of the rulings of the Turkish government.

Probably the outstanding health need of Turkey is for more and better nurses. Dealing with this point in the handbook on Turkey, Mr. Pierrepont Moffat writes as follows:

> The most serious shortcoming in ministration to the sick in Turkey is unquestionably the failure to demand scientific training for nurses. As yet, nursing is not viewed as a profession and until it is, the organization of hospitals and the care of sick in their homes will be at a serious disadvantage. In a constructive attempt to remedy this situation, the American Hospital at Constantinople has included as a branch and integral portion of its organization a nurses' training school, where about fifty young women of the country are receiving instruction in the fundamentals of nursing.

Since Mr. Moffat wrote his article, the number of nurses in training has declined. Up to 1927 there had been forty-nine graduates, nine of whom were Moslems. The course covers twenty-eight months.

The Red Crescent has recently started at Stamboul a native institution for training nurses, the enrollment of which is at present about fifty girls. All students must be Turks and must promise to serve for five years after graduation. The girls are given practical experience in government hospitals. To meet part of its immediate needs, the government has hired about twenty-five German nurses and has assigned them to various government hospitals where they are doing very good work. With the coöperation of the Turkish authorities, The International Health Board has made a careful survey, under the direction of Dr. Ralph K. Collins, of health conditions of Turkey, and has also granted several scholarships to Turkish young men to enable them to study abroad.

Social Conditions

Social conditions can best be summarized by quoting excerpts from the report on *Social Conditions in Turkey* prepared by Miss Ruth Woodsmall in the fall of 1926.

> The most striking social fact in Turkey today is the emancipation of women which since 1923 with the advent of the new republic has become an irrefutable reality. The adoption of the Swiss Code October 4, 1926 by which polygamy is made illegal and women are recognized as equal to men,

ends by law the old oriental régime based on the dependence and inferiority of women. This movement toward freedom and equality has not been the product of a moment but has been slowly coming through a gradual process of evolution. . . .

Women in Constantinople have not only entered into the meaning of economic independence but have also availed themselves of their new social freedom. . . .

Women in the Interior, on the contrary, are just beginning to be conscious of any change in their position either economically or socially. . . . Angora, of course, is an exception to the usual Interior town, standards having moved forward very rapidly. . . .

The most interesting feature in connection with the freedom of women is the fact that it has been brought about by men's efforts and endorsed by them, not after a long bitter struggle by the women themselves as in most countries. As one prominent Turkish woman said: "The freedom of women is scarcely realized as it has come entirely without any opposition or organized aggressive effort on their part. . . ."

This lack of opposition to the recently acquired full freedom of women does not mean that the attitude of men in the Near East, however, has entirely changed over night. The degree of acceptance of the new idea depends largely on western contact and education. Educated men naturally want educated wives and welcome changes which do away with the seclusion of women and permit social intercourse. . . .

With reference to the entrance of women into larger educational opportunities and economic independence, the adjustment has been made and is being made easily and rapidly with comparatively little strain, a surprising fact when one remembers that higher education and participation in public life have naturally always been regarded as man's exclusive prerogative in Turkey. . . .

The idea of women fitting themselves to be economically independent is steadily becoming more generally accepted. Economic necessity has compelled a change in viewpoint from the old idea of girls being kept entirely in the home. . . .

An interesting point in connection with women in public positions is the fact that there is no prejudice or discrimination against married women being employed. In some parts of the Interior there is even a preference for married women.

The preceding discussion of the attitude of men toward women in the changing condition incident upon their new position has referred to relationships prevailing in Constantinople and Angora and the other more advanced cities like Smyrna. The relationship of men and women in the Interior presents little change from the old régime, but a gradual change may be expected with the flow of outside influence and more widespread education of women. . . .

Changes in home life are less easy to measure than changing conditions in social and economic relationships. The prevailing oriental conception which is also a Near East conception in Christian and Moslem homes alike is that the home pivots around the desires of the man whose final authority is unquestioned. . . . This general conception is true in more or less degree

of Constantinople as well as the Interior, although the differences in home life and standards between Constantinople and Anatolia particularly in the villages are measured by decades if not by centuries.

Coincident with the changes in social and economic conditions in home life have come very significant changes in regard to marriage. Until after the War marriage was regarded as the *sine qua non* of every girl's life. The new social order based on the recognition of women's equality has very materially changed this conception of marriage as inevitable. . . .

There is also a change in the attitude of men toward marriage. Due to the economic stringency they give marriage much more serious consideration. . . .

The change in the attitude toward marriage and the extent of marriage has materially affected the age of marriage of both sexes. Both in Anatolia and in Constantinople there has been a marked tendency since the War to put marriage at a later date. . . .

Although there is theoretically perfect freedom of social intercourse, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are still very limited in comparison with the abundant social freedom of the West. Hence the transition period presents a real problem for young girls of the new generation, owing particularly to the lack of moral recreational facilities for boys and girls. The problem of adolescent relationships is acute.

The changing conditions of marriage have apparently also had an effect on the size of the families in Turkey. Although no statistics are available, there is a very evident tendency toward a decrease, a fact which presents a vital problem for Turkey because of the need for an increase in population to fill the vacuum caused by the evacuation of the Christian population from Anatolia. . . .

A study of child life in Turkey presents such a bewildering multiplicity of needs that it seems almost impossible to single out the outstanding needs. . . . The physical, mental and spiritual needs of childhood must be considered. It is imperative that more attention should be paid to proper feeding, suitable clothing, cleanliness, the value of air, sunshine and exercise, supervised recreation and the need for regular health habits. . . .

The question of child labor should be given serious consideration. Thousands of boys and girls are employed in small shops, street trades and factories working long hours under bad conditions for a mere pittance. A proposed law on child labor attempts much needed reforms and standardization. However, enforcement of any law faces the handicap of the lack of public conscience and a decentralized production. Turkey is not yet industrialized but there is a developing factory system, increasing the menace of exploitation of child labor.

From whatever angle the problem is approached—the child at home, at school, in the shop—the inadequacy of present methods of child care in Turkey is tragically apparent. It is also apparent that the ills of childhood may be covered by one diagnosis—the ignorance of the fact that a child must be given special attention and not treated as an adult. The recognition of this fact, that child life is different from adult life, would affect every need of childhood.

The student of changing social conditions in Turkey today is constantly

faced with the question: What effect will these remarkable changes have on public morals and morale. . . .

It may be fairly stated that present conditions are in some degree conducive to moral deterioration, which is perhaps a passing phase due to a transition period. It is impossible to give positive proof of these moral changes based on full statistics. However, partial statistics are available on certain moral problems.

According to statistics from the public-health service, the actual number of registered prostitutes is less in 1926 (1,700) than in 1921 (2,171). Of course, neither of these figures represents the complete number. In 1921 the total number of registered and unregistered was estimated at 4,500. . . . The most marked tendency at the present time is the fact that although the total prostitution is less than in 1921, the number of Turkish prostitutes has greatly increased. . . .

Under Abdul Hamid prohibition was strictly inforced, however probably with very little difficulty as intemperance was very little known in Turkey before the War. Since the War it has greatly increased both in the Interior and in the cities. Opinions, however, seem to differ as to its extent in the Interior. The government has passed regulations against the importation of narcotics.

Fortunately, the suddenly acquired liberty in social relationships and inexperience in its use, a naturally dangerous combination, has resulted not in public insecurity and social disorder but rather in personal and individual excesses. Hence, there has been an overemphasis on superficial standards, on cabaret life, dancing and cinemas.

In the desire to be modern, everything old is being repudiated. The breaking of Moslem tradition has meant a decrease in religious authority without any new authority in its place. There is not only a consequent looseness in morals but also an increase in actual immorality among all classes and among all nationalities. . . .

Although there are these undoubted evidences of changing moral standards, it must not be supposed that life in Turkey as a whole has been adversely affected. Many Turkish women have gone quietly on their way taking advantage of their new freedom without going to an extreme. One wonders sometimes that there has been so little upheaval since there seems to be so little preparation for women for their new status. However, the moral poise of many Turkish women is probably due to the strong force of habit and the fine reticence and refinement which came from their previous background of seclusion. With the Turkish women of the educated class furthermore there has been for a number of years the steady penetration of western ideals and thought through foreign governesses, reading western literature and attending foreign schools—so that the sudden acceptance of western social standards did not find them totally unprepared.

There are very few institutions in Turkey for the care of dependents. . . .

There is no special institution for the blind in Constantinople nor in Turkey. The only institutions in Constantinople in which there are any blind, although no special care is given them, is the Turkish Home for the Poor, Dar-ul-Adjize, and the French Sisters home for the aged. . . .

A small school for deaf mutes started 36 years ago in Constantinople

has recently been moved to Smyrna. This was originally a private school, administered independently. Three years ago it came under the government under the Ministry of Health. The allowance for 1926 according to the budget is 22,500 liras. This indicates that the school is being developed. . . .

There is no special institution for the feeble-minded and no special consideration of their needs in any school. In a number of places for the insane, feeble-minded as distinct from the insane children and adults are found together.

There are eight institutions for the insane in Turkey; two in the Interior and six in Constantinople. Of the Constantinople institutions, four are general hospitals with a section for the insane, two are special institutions for the insane.

The general impression of the care of the insane judging from the main state institution in Scutari is that a creditable attempt is being made to carry on the hospital according to modern methods with an excellent laboratory and specialists trained in Europe. The lack of trained attendants and the lack of separation of idiots, feeble-minded and insane was a serious feature.

Orphanage care in Constantinople follows the usual nationality line characteristic of Constantinople, each nationality assuming responsibility for the support of its own institutions. There is as yet no idea of handling the different nationalities as a general problem of child care. Certain foreign orphanages have set the example but as yet it has not been followed. . . .

Although there is in some places a distinct idea of developing the child's individuality, orphanages are still decidedly institutionalized, and the cottage system has yet to be attempted. Half orphans whose mothers cannot support them are placed in orphanages instead of being subsidized in their own homes, while owing to the prevalent customs the whole attitude towards such children must change before outplacing can be safely attempted.[5]

The Turkish orphanages as far as Constantinople is concerned give the impression of being well-supported and well-housed. This is also true of orphanages in the Interior.

The general lack of care of dependents and disabled is an indication of social unawareness and ignorance rather than a spirit of unkindliness toward infirmity and misfortune. . . .

There is undoubtedly an increasing demand for recreation and a progressive development of recreation facilities along western lines. There is a change from the passive to the active type. Sitting idly in the coffee-house or in the sun watching the world go by will not satisfy the younger generation.

Today the whole attitude toward recreation has changed. Athletic teams and contests, sports clubs, outdoor activities and camps are a dominant interest of Turkish youth. International and inter-club sports are headline material in the press and columns are given to sports in every paper. School administrations and the Department of Education are giving increased attention to the development of leaders; for example, a new course in physical education for teachers has been established in the Normal School for Girls

[5] The number of Turkish orphanages outside of Constantinople is eleven with 4,570 children, while in the city itself there are eight with 3,152 children. In Constantinople there are fifteen community and foreign orphanages with about 1,500 inmates.

in Constantinople. Probably no constructive influence on youth of both sexes is more welcome and capable of more productive development than the development of organized recreation and sport.

The outstanding conclusion of a study of social conditions in Turkey at the present time is that an oriental people is passing from the inherited social customs of the East to the rapidly changing social values of the West; from the social and religious ideas of Islam to secular ideas; from autocracy to democracy; from loose allegiance to Khalif and Sultan to a vigorous nationalism; from woman's isolation and inferiority to equality of sexes; from primitive agriculture to European transportation, trade, manufacture and modern agriculture—and it is all being attempted at the same time.

CHAPTER VII

'IRAQ

By Elbridge Sibley

'Iraq differs most strikingly from Syria and Palestine, the other two Arabic-speaking countries included in this survey, in its greater degree of isolation from contact with European and American cultures. Up to half a dozen years ago Baghdad was at least three weeks distant from the Mediterranean coast. For several decades there have been mission stations in 'Iraq, maintained chiefly by French and American agencies, but as compared with those in Syria and Palestine, their extent has been insignificant.

A second important difference in the situation of 'Iraq as compared with that of Syria or Palestine, is in the fact that its government is nominally a monarchy, which gives a larger scope to the local nationalistic aspirations than is permitted to the peoples of the other two countries. Local leaders are interested in the development of a distinctively Arabic culture, and have undertaken ambitious projects for its furtherance. Many of these plans seem unlikely to succeed for some time to come, but nevertheless they are to be reckoned with in contemplating assistance from outside.

American philanthropy, if it should undertake large-scale operations in 'Iraq, would thus be entering a virtually new field.

Demography

With a population of some 2,850,000 in 1919 in an area of 143,000 square miles, 'Iraq was about nine-tenths as large in area, and had about three-fourths the population of the state of California. Its present territory comprises roughly the former Turkish vilayets of Mosul, Baghdad and Basrah, lying between Syria and Persia on the west and east, and between Turkey and Arabia on the north and south.

The population is mainly Arabic, with a considerable number of Kurds[1] in the northeastern part. Nine-tenths of the inhabitants are

[1] The census of 1919 enumerates the language groups as follows:

Arab	2,206,192
Kurd	499,336
Persian	79,908
Turk, Turcoman	60,493
European, Indian	3,353
	2,849,282

Moslems, the Sunni sect claiming about one-third more adherents than the Shiah. Estimates place the total number of Christians at about 80,000. Jews and members of other religions claimed, in 1920, about 45,000 each. The Christians live mainly in the Mosul liwa (district), over one-half of the total number being in Mosul city itself.

At the end of 1919, some 50,000 refugees from Turkey and Persia were supported by the 'Iraq administration. Of these, 35,000 were Assyrians who had definite claims upon the British by virtue of having fought for them during the War. They had been promised, in return for their assistance, safe homes under "a friendly if not a British administration." The remaining 15,000 were Armenians with no particular status.[2] Since 1922, the numbers of the refugee populations, have diminished until there remain perhaps 20,000 Assyrians and 7,000 Armenians.

The social and economic status of the refugees appear on the whole to be relatively better than in Syria. The great majority of Christian refugees should be able to exist in the future without further charity beyond what can be supplied locally in 'Iraq. The government has relieved the refugee situation considerably by enlisting an Assyrian Legion for frontier police duty. From this source, some thousands of Assyrians, including the families of enlisted men, gain their living.

Immigration and emigration are not at present considerable. There is a continual egress to the Americas, but the numbers going are insignificant as compared with the numbers leaving the Mediterranean coastal countries. In 1924, thirty-eight 'Iraqis were given visas to the United States; in 1925, sixty-six.

Of more importance, socially, economically and hygienically, are seasonal migrations of two types: the movements of the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes, and the religious pilgrimages of Moslems. The holy cities of 'Iraq attract great numbers of Shiah Moslem pilgrims from all parts of the country, and from outside, especially from Persia. On the other hand, the pious Sunni Moslem inhabitants of 'Iraq are called upon to make their pilgrimages to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina in the Hejaz.

One of the most prominent features of the social evolution of 'Iraq is the continual transition from *bedawee* or nomad, to *fellah*, or peasant. Miss Gertrude Bell, who knew the Arabs of 'Iraq probably better than any other European, can best describe it:[3]

The conversion of the wandering camel-breeder and camel-lifter into a cultivator of the soil, in so far as it has taken place in Mesopotamia, was an inevitable process. In their progress northward, the tribes (from Arabia)

2 The story of attempts at repatriating and at absorbing these people, up to 1922, is told in the *Report of the 'Iraq Administration* for 1920–22, pages 102–113. London: H. M. Stationery Office.

3 *Report of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia.* London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1920.

found themselves ultimately upon the limits of the desert; the wide spaces essential to a nomadic existence no longer stretched before them, while pressure from behind forbade any return. They were obliged to look to agriculture as a means of livelihood. Thereby they lost caste with the true beduin. . . . These last would scorn to intermarry with tillers of the soil, shepherds, and herdsmen of buffaloes. . . .

The transition from a nomadic to a settled life is always a slow process, and the very doubtful security offered by the Turkish administration did not tend to hasten it. Except in the immediate neighborhood of big towns, such as Baghdad and Basrah, tribal organization has not been relinquished; [written in 1920] tribal law and tribal customs still hold good, and tribal blood-feuds continued till a couple of years ago to be a terrible scourge. A periodic reversion to tents is common, and even the reed-villagers (of southern 'Iraq) are semi-nomadic. . . . But the rising value of land tends to pin down these restless husbandmen, and no sooner do they settle than their numbers increase out of all comparison with those of their hungry if prouder brethren in the wilderness who neither plow nor harvest.

Persecution of religious minorities has long been an established custom of the East, and in this 'Iraq has been no exception. At present the *pax Britannica* prevents bloodshed, and the problem is one of the ultimate segregation or absorption of the thousands of Assyrian and Armenian Christian refugees.

Sunni and Shiah Moslems in times past have waged wars over their ecclesiastical differences, but at present may be regarded as opponents in politics rather than as potential factions in a civil war. They are rather sharply segregated geographically, most of the Shiahs living south of Baghdad, most of the Sunnis to the north.[4]

For centuries the Kurds have clung to their tribal organization and their unwritten dialects, and have opposed the authority of any alien government. Some progress seems to have been made by the British in pacifying them, but it has not been an easy process. A resident of Mosul remarked that the habits of the Kurds are adumbrated by the fact that they have at least a half-dozen distinct words which must be rendered in English "to raid a village," each connoting some delicate difference in the manner of procedure.

The relation between the nomads and the settled villagers has already been described. The townsmen regard the beduin as a separate and inferior race, and are not a little afraid of them.

Government

Since the accession in 1921 of the Emir Faisal ibn Hussein as King Faisal I, 'Iraq has been governed as a monarchy under the mandate of Great Britain. The treaty now in force provides for the

4 A riot took place among students in Baghdad during the winter of 1926–27, when a Sunni teacher was discharged by the Minister of Education, a Shiah.

continuance of the mandate for twenty-five years from 1926, unless in the meantime 'Iraq shall become a member of the League of Nations.[5] The ratification of this treaty seems to have improved the confidence of foreigners in the safety of doing business in the country. A constituent assembly drew up an organic law, which was accepted by the King in 1924. It provides for a cabinet form of government, and universal male suffrage. Under the terms of the mandate and treaties, British advisers are attached to the more important administrative officials. A British High Commissioner has general oversight of the civil affairs of the country; the British military forces in the country, a detachment of the Royal Air Force, are under command of an Air Vice-Marshal.

'Iraq is divided into thirteen liwas, each under an 'Iraqi *mutasarrif,* who is aided by a British Administrative Inspector. Great Britain is responsible for the maintenance of internal order and external security. The part played by local military and police forces is being increased, and according to the treaty these must be adequate for the whole task by 1928.

Economics

A discussion of the economic situation of 'Iraq may well commence by recalling that about a decade ago we were regaled by the press with accounts of the great wealth of the Tigris-Euphrates valley which, if the British should succeed in taking it, would repay them the whole cost of the War. Since then, most of us have been forgetting about the existence of Mesopotamia, while British taxpayers have been contributing to the maintenance of the government of the fabulously rich land, its own revenues having fallen short of minimum necessities.

Oil and agriculture are the potential sources of the wealth of 'Iraq. The former has been much more prominent in discussions in foreign countries; but the development of the latter, while it has received less general attention, is quite as essential to the welfare of the 'Iraqis. It is not possible to report as an expert, or even to quote expert opinion on the oil prospects of 'Iraq—the latter because those supposedly best informed are decidedly reticent. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company and the Turkish Petroleum Company, two international syndicates, have extensive projects in hand, but production on a commercial scale has not begun in 'Iraq. A development of anything like the extent we are led to expect, would mean great economic improvement for the country.

In 1922 the British Director of Agriculture for 'Iraq made an address from which it seems worth while to quote:[6]

5 A revised treaty negotiated in December, 1927, provides that if progress is maintained, Great Britain will support an application of 'Iraq for entrance into the League in 1932.

6 Thomas, Roger, *Commercial and Trades Directory of 'Iraq, 1924–5.* Pp. 342 ff.

There is hardly a crop, tropical or temperate, which will not grow in 'Iraq provided it is given kindly treatment. The country is a mine of untold wealth. Yet, at first hand, it does appear paradoxical that the public revenues derived from such a country should be inadequate to meet the expenses of administration even in times of peace. . . .

The wealth of a nation, like that of a man, is estimated by its surplus production. If a man possesses a million rupees and spends it all, . . . he cannot build railways and canals; neither can a nation. All the enterprises of peace and war depend upon the surplus production of a people.

The foregoing remarks may well be followed by an excerpt from the Encyclopædia Brîtannica:

If 'Iraq's ancient system of irrigation were restored, and the land restored to cultivation, the country could support five hundred times as many inhabitants as it usually contains.

The prospect of a population of fifteen hundred millions is undoubtedly one for the far distant future, but there is a shadow of truth in what has just been quoted. Opinions differ as to the ultimate potentialities of agricultural development in 'Iraq, but it is certain that production could, and ought to be, enormously increased. One naturally thinks at first in terms of great irrigation developments, requiring tremendous investments; but for the present, it should be borne in mind that a great deal could be accomplished by wiser management of the present resources of the country, and above all by the propagation of better methods of cultivation.

The essentials of agricultural development in 'Iraq may be enumerated as follows: 1. Water; 2. improved technique; 3. better seed; 4. control of pests; 5. capital.

With the present forms of cultivation, the need for water is not a subject of controversy. The suggestion has been made that "dry-farming" methods such as are used in arid regions of the United States, might be employed; but at best, that would be merely a step in the right direction. It has been pointed out that with proper supervision, the now available supply of irrigation water could be made to go much farther than it does. One has but to see an Arab cultivating a field to be convinced that he is inefficient. He uses a little plow which half-heartedly scratches the earth. If he has to raise water for his field, he will probably either do it by hand or attach a bucket to the end of a rope, the other end of which is pulled by a slow-moving buffalo.

The strains of grain and cotton which have been grown in 'Iraq are notoriously poor. The intermixture of weeds in samples of 'Iraqi wheat is said to range up to one-quarter of the bulk. The native cotton has so short a staple that it is practically unfit for spinning, and is used mainly for stuffing pillows and mattresses. Locusts, the sunn pest (in wheat) and a half-dozen parasitic enemies of date palms are among the present handicaps.

Capital will be needed if much improvement is to be effected in agricultural conditions. It is futile to teach a *fellah* to use a modern plow, for he cannot afford the investment. The present system of land tenure, and agricultural economics in general must undergo considerable changes before the stage will be properly set for unhampered development. The agricultural syndicates, which will be mentioned a little later, may be one way out.

The kingdom of 'Iraq embraces three distinct types of country: the desert on the west and south, the plain (*al 'Iraq*) between the great rivers, and the hills near the northern and northeastern frontiers.

The desert is not the expanse of burning sands which we associate with the term, but of clay formation, with a sparse covering of camelthorn in many areas. It supports, through their camels, a surprising number of beduin. The plain is remarkably fertile wherever it is watered. At many places are seen the remains of ancient canals, now dry except at flood times, as the rivers have cut deeper into their beds. Annual rainfall at Baghdad averages about seven inches; there is practically no rain whatever between May and November. The lowest mean temperature is about 40° F., in January; the highest, about 110° F., in August. The hills of southern Kurdistan range in altitude up to 8,000 feet or more; the climate among them is more temperate.

Cereals are grown generally throughout the country. Before the War they were exported in considerable quantities; exportation was resumed in 1922, but since then has dropped to an almost insignificant fraction of the figures for that year and 1923. Wheat and barley were the leading cereals exported; sesame and oats are grown for local use. Rice is grown in southern 'Iraq, especially around 'Amarah.

Dates are cultivated extensively along the banks of the Shatt el Arab, the estuary of the Tigris and Euphrates. Exports, in 1925, amounted to 147,853 tons. Date culture may be regarded as promising, but it is limited to a very well-watered area.

Sheep-raising occupies the areas peripheral to the grain-growing areas. Nearly 13,000 tons of wool were exported in 1925; thousands of sheep are annually driven overland from Mosul to Syria. Hides and sausage-casings are another profitable product of the industry.

Cotton production, which before the War was on a very small scale and for local use, increased rapidly up to 1924, when more than 2,400 bales were grown. The two years since then have not shown corresponding progress, the severe slump in the world market being a principal factor. Given a normal market, cotton growing would be one of the most promising occupations for 'Iraq. The British Cotton Growing Association has occupied a semi-official position in promoting and marketing the crop.

A significant fact is that most of the cotton of the country is grown on large plantations, many of them controlled by local or foreign syndicates. Agriculture on a business basis is something new in the Middle East. It seems to augur well for increased production by more efficient methods. What it will do for the *fellah* is another question. He may or may not eventually be better off working for wages under a supervisor, than he is when cultivating his own field, by much less effective means, but if he receives enough to keep body and soul together, he must be admitted to be no worse off than he is at present.

Governmental agricultural work includes anti-locust measures; the maintenance of an experimental farm and seed nursery apparently excellently laid out but financially handicapped; and a newly opened agricultural school of which more will be said later on.

The introduction of the automobile since the War, and the building of railways during the War, have shortened distances incredibly. It has been observed that the third-class railway coach may prove to be one of the greatest socializing agencies ever introduced. Before the War it took from four to six days to get from Baghdad to Basrah and three weeks to go from Baghdad to Beirut, in Syria. Today the traveler from Baghdad may reach Basrah by railway in twenty-four hours, and Beirut by automobile in two days.

The gross foreign trade of 'Iraq includes a great deal of transit trade from and to other countries, especially Persia. Re-exports, and imports-in-transit constitute over one-half of all foreign commerce. Net imports are over twice as great as net exports. Statistics for three years are as follows:[7]

Years	*Gross Imports*	*Gross Exports*	*Net Imports*	*Net Exports*	*Difference*
		Lakhs (100,000) of Rupees			
1922	1,678	1,079	969	370	599
1923	1,815	1,358	879	422	457
1924	1,912	1,420	911	419	492
	Millions of Dollars (Approximate)				
1922	47½	30½	27½	10½	17
1923	55	41½	27	13	14
1924	63	46½	30	13¾	16¼

There was thus an adverse trade balance of 492 lakhs for the year 1924. As this matter has recently been referred to locally with alarm in parliamentary debates and articles in the press, as an indication that the country is living on its capital, it is desirable to mention the other factors which should be taken into account in examining the state of the country's trade. In a country such as 'Iraq, in which large forces are maintained at the expense of another government, and in which there exist wealthy foreign trading and development companies, the "invisible exports" are a very important factor.[8]

[7] Data for 1922–24 from *Administration Report*, 1925, p. 78.
[8] *Administration Report*, 1925, p. 78.

Expenditures of the British civil and military [9] forces, outlays of the oil companies, and the not inconsiderable amount of money spent by tourists and philanthropists are the more important items of "invisible export."

The striking feature of the distribution of wealth in 'Iraq is its inequality. Practically everyone is either living from one day to the next, or else is quite well-to-do or even rich. The Turkish system of land tenure has contributed much toward this state of affairs, as well as toward the failure of the people to give much attention to the permanent improvement of the land.

Under the Turkish code, still practically unchanged, all land is *ab initio* the property of the state. Private rights in the land are of two types: *mulk* and *tapu*. *Mulk* is a close approximation to our tenure in fee simple. It is applied for the most part to building-land in towns, and to suburban gardens; very little agricultural land is so held. *Tapu* is a right of occupancy but not ownership. It is nominally contingent upon continual cultivation of the land at intervals of not more than three years—a salubrious provision, but one which is said not to have been effective. The bulk of the agricultural land of the country is either held in *tapu,* or else is *miri,* or unalienated state property in which the occupant has no legal right. As an example of the difficulties of such a system of tenure, it was the law until a short time ago that trees planted in *tapu* land became *mulk* property, and on the decease of the owner, descended often to a different person than did the land itself. It is needless to point out that the Turkish land law led to the use of exploitative methods of cultivation.

Many of the agricultural villages of 'Iraq are controlled by absentee landlords, who receive goodly shares of the produce of the fields. Much real estate is also held as *waqf,* which is property held in trust for the benefit of religious and charitable institutions. The Sunni Moslem *aukaf* (plural of *waqf*) are administered by a government officer who is a member of the cabinet. Those of other sects are under the direction of the respective religious authorities. Under the law, *waqf* property may never be sold.

The Turkish land-tenure system, worse in practice than in theory, has had various bad effects upon agriculture. The uncertainties of titles and the complexities of the laws of inheritance have discouraged investments in permanent improvements. Moreover, it has been next to impossible for farmers to obtain loans at tolerable rates of interest, either for new outlays or to enable them to recover from the effects of a single crop failure.

The Turkish system of taxation, with some modifications, is still

[9] 1,050 lakhs ($31,500,000) were spent by British forces, 1922–23–24. *Ibid.*

in vogue. The collection of taxes by local officials, or by tribal *shaikhs,* as the case may be, is an operation of considerable political delicacy. While it is recognized that by no means all of the money collected from the taxpayers ever reaches the treasury, government officials feel that to attempt a sudden reform would be politically dangerous. Apart from the leakage in collection, the chief complaint heard against the taxation system is that it seems to place the greatest burden upon the agricultural worker, while the townsman benefits most by the expenditures of the state.

The taxation of agricultural produce yields somewhat over one-fourth of the total revenue of the government. The nominal rates levied on the produce of different classes of land are as follows:

	TAPU LAND	MIRI LAND
	Per cent	*Per cent*
Land not enjoying irrigation from canals maintained by the state	10	20
State-irrigated land	20	40

A system of fixed assessment—with better land registration as a necessary preliminary—is suggested as the only substitute for the "tithes." The present rates are very high indeed, said to be about double the rates that prevailed under the Ottoman régime.

The straitened finances of the kingdom impede progress along many lines. By a series of radical cuts, the budget was reduced so that a favorable balance was shown for the fiscal year 1923–24; a smaller surplus was left in 1924–25.[10] The obligation of the government to undertake payments on its allotted share of the Ottoman Public Debt, together with the necessity of increasing the military forces in preparation for the withdrawal of British assistance, required extra appropriations equal to about a fifth of the total budget for 1924–25 during the following year. The situation was so critical that a commission of experts was sent from England to suggest ways and means of balancing the budget. They recommended further cuts in expenditures for certain desirable although not vital purposes, and predict that in a few years it will be possible again to balance the budget. This, however, precludes many outlays of which the country is really in need.

The currency now in use in 'Iraq is the Indian rupee, worth about 1 shilling 6 pence, or 36½ cents. The instability of the rupee at the time when it was introduced led to a considerable amount of complaining, but the ultimate wisdom of its substitution for the multitude of currencies formerly used seems to have been vindicated. It is reported that a new 'Iraq currency, based on sterling, is soon to be introduced.

[10] See *Report of the Financial Mission to 'Iraq.* London. H. M. Stationery Office, 1926.

Health

All that confidently can be said about mortality and natality in 'Iraq, as indices of the general state of health, is that both are undoubtedly high as compared with those of western countries. The recorded infantile mortality in 1924 was 320 per 1,000 births in Baghdad, and 475 in Basrah. The actual rates were perhaps higher. Malaria, trachoma, ankylostomiasis and bilharzia are the most prevalent diseases of the country.

Malaria is common not only in the marshy lowlands, but also wherever the irrigation canals are so situated that they cannot be drained, and in the foothills of the mountains on the northern and northeastern frontier. Plans for its eradication face a dilemma in the fact that the canals, which are the breeding-places for the carriers, are at the same time indispensable to the productivity of the country. Apparently the unhappy 'Iraqi is doomed either to starve or to suffer.

It is estimated by the health department that four out of five inhabitants suffer from trachoma, a large proportion incurring permanent impairment of their sight, if not total blindness. The relative indifference of the people in the matter is indicated by the fact that the imposition of a charge of 4 annas (about 10c) weekly for treatments at the eye clinics in Baghdad reduced the attendance by 77 per cent.

Ankylostomiasis (hookworm) parasites' eggs are found in the fæces of about 25 per cent of the surgical cases in the Baghdad hospital, and in from 50 to 70 per cent of the medical cases in the same institution. None of these cases, moreover, was admitted for that particular complaint, and most of them were not aware that their vitality was impaired by the parasites.

Bilharzia is almost universal in the southern part of the country. The inhabitants of certain regions are said to believe themselves to be ill if they *do not* pass blood in their urine. A definite campaign has been undertaken against bilharzia in school-children. School officials observe that the children of the Basrah area do not progress as well as those in the northern sections of the country, a fact which they ascribe to the prevalence in the former region of malaria and bilharzia.

Severe enteric diseases—typhoid and the dysenteries—are less common than would be expected in view of the generally bad sanitation and water supplies. In fact the proposal to abolish routine anti-typhoid vaccination of the troops was seriously considered.

Plague is endemic, or at least enzoötic, in the country. The number of cases fell, in 1925, to a very small fraction of the usual number, but this was ascribed to climatic conditions which killed off many rats; and a recrudescence was expected during 1926. A serious

epidemic of cholera took place in 1923; normally the disease is not endemic.

Smallpox and measles claim a large number of victims yearly. The tuberculosis rate is believed by health officers not to be abnormally high. More cases have been reported in recent years, but this is believed to be due mainly, if not wholly, to more careful registration. Venereal diseases are very widespread, but occur as a rule in milder forms than in Europe.

The health service of the government has been kept more closely in British hands than have the other administrative branches. There are about twenty British officers and thirty local doctors in the service. In view of the fact that "every 'Iraqi doctor in the country either has a post in the health service or has had an offer of a post commensurate with his ability," it is apparent that the service cannot soon be turned over to local personnel.

Expenditures for public-health services of the government in 1924–25 amounted to about $700,000—less than the expenditures of the second and third years previously, and much less than might well be invested in this work.

The 'Iraq government maintains seventeen hospitals with a total of 1,170 beds. Those in Baghdad (2), Basrah (2) and Mosul (1) are of high grade in equipment and personnel; the others are inferior, some of them doing no surgery. Non-government hospitals include men's and women's hospitals of the Arabian Mission (American) in Kuweit and 'Amarah, and a Jewish Hospital in Baghdad. All of these are small institutions of fewer than fifty beds. A few doctors maintain private hospitals of a few beds. The government hospitals admitted 16,532 patients during 1925. The government also runs fifty-three public dispensaries throughout the country, at which, during 1925, 1,298,604 patients were treated.

In general the hospital facilities of the country appear to be adequate for the present demands made upon them; but with a continued increase in the willingness of the people to make use of them, additions will presently be needed. Jews and Christians patronize the hospitals more freely than Moslems; this is especially noticeable in the case of women. A hospital was until recently, "an antechamber of death" in the mind of the Arabs.

The Royal Hospital in Baghdad is really a remarkable institution. It comprises a general hospital for men and women, of 250 beds (which it is hoped to increase to 500), a well-equipped surgery, X-ray, chemical and biological laboratories. The last has been of invaluable service in producing vaccines and serums in times of epidemics.

There is no lack of available physicians for the country as a whole. But they are unfortunately concentrated in the large cities. A regu-

lation now forbids foreign doctors who seek to immigrate from settling in these centres; it is hoped that this regulation may help to provide doctors for the outlying districts which are at present without any. In 1924, there were only five properly qualified dentists, all of them in Baghdad. In addition there were twenty-seven licensed "dental mechanics" with inferior qualifications. And undoubtedly many persons were practising dentistry without qualification or license.

Trained nurses and midwives are a serious need. These professions are the only ones open to former prostitutes; and unfortunately few respectable women enter them. The hospitals in Baghdad and Basrah offer regular training in midwifery; civil surgeons sometimes give informal lessons in cleanliness to the midwives practising in their jurisdictions. But on the whole, the midwives of the country may be cited as one cause of the very high infantile and maternal mortality. There is no regular course of nursing training in 'Iraq. A few Armenian girls have taken up nursing, which is not yet recognized as a respectable profession.

No extensive campaign of health education has been attempted. Brief lessons in hygiene are included in the curriculum of the government schools. It was not possible to gain a definite idea of their effectiveness. The proposal to found a school of medicine in Baghdad will be discussed in the section on Education.

Standards in water and food supplies, housing, and the disposal of waste are exceedingly low when judged by American ideas. Both general education and economic progress must come before they can be materially improved in the country at large.

Non-governmental assistance in public-health work and medical service is very scanty in comparison with that in Syria and Palestine. The few non-government hospitals are small, and inferior to the best of the government hospitals. Officials of the health service feel that as compared with the neighboring countries on the west, 'Iraq has not received a due share of the benefits distributed by international health agencies.

Education

Something like 7 per cent of the 'Iraqi children of school age are in schools of various kinds (assuming one-fifth of the population to be of school age). The rate of attendance ranges from nil among the nomadic tribes to as much as 90 per cent among Christians in the large towns and cities. Further differences are to be found among various religious groups. The Christians are on the whole most generally educated; after them, in order, come the Jews, the Sunni Moslems and the Shiah Moslems.

Schooling for girls was practically confined to the Christian and Jewish communities until the British occupation. The opening of government schools for girls has been greeted with raised eyebrows by many; but by now an insistent demand for more girls' schools has arisen. There are said to be a few very young girls in boys' schools in the villages.

The total number of persons of all ages in educational institutions of all kinds is in the neighborhood of 60,000, of which number some 8,000 are girls and women. The following composite table may help to visualize the extent of various types of schools:[11]

1. Pupils in Schools of the Ministry of Education

	BOYS	GIRLS
Primary	22,712 *	4,055 *
Secondary	583 *	0 ‡
Normal	303 *	59 †
Technical (trades)	320 †	0 ‡
Law	131 *	0 ‡

2. Pupils in Schools of Other Government Departments

Engineering	35 ‡	0 ‡
Agriculture	8 ‡	0 ‡
University (theology)	25 ‡	0 ‡

3. Pupils in Non-Government Schools

Primary	12,900 †	3,408 †
Secondary §	360 ‡	0 ‡
Night schools	1,800 ‡	200 ‡
Mosque schools	10,000 ‖	

* Figures for 1925–26.
† Figures for 1924–25.
‡ Figures for 1926–27.
§ The category "secondary school" is indefinite, as the curricula followed by the two schools in question differ from those of the government secondary schools.
‖ There were 6,925 pupils in the 195 schools inspected. There were probably as many as 300 such schools in the country.

The growth of the government schools since 1919 must be visualized in order to appreciate the task which the ministry of education has undertaken:

Years	*Pupils*	*Approximate Budget*
1913 (Turkish)	6,470	
1919–20	6,743	
1920	8,001 *	$600,000
1921	15,275 *	690,000
1922	17,232	650,000
1923	18,558	600,000
1924	20,654	760,000
1925–26	22,712	760,000

* The apparent increase in 1921 was due mainly to the government's taking over a number of Christian schools with some 6,000 pupils.

[11] The data have been compiled from the most recent sources available. It is believed that they present a fairly close approximation to the 1926 enrollment.

Dr. Van Ess, an American missionary, was appointed as the first head of the Ministry of Education under the British administration. He was succeeded by Englishmen until the establishment of the kingdom in 1921, since when the schools have been under the direction of an 'Iraqi director assisted by a British Advisor. The relations of the director and his advisor are determined mainly by personalities, and given an aggressive personality on the one hand and a mild and somewhat retiring one on the other, they may become somewhat perfunctory. There is room for criticism of the arrangement on grounds of inefficiency, but all things considered it seems to be the only workable arrangement at present.

The lack of qualified teachers led to the importation of many Syrians as instructors in the government schools. In addition to these there remain many elderly *mullas,* semi-theological teachers, whose education is not such as to make them well qualified to teach anything but the scriptures. It is the policy of the Director of Education to replace both these classes by native teachers from the government normal schools. Political considerations hinder the rapid displacement of the *mullas,* many of whom are men of considerable local prestige, and have indeed been used by the Ministry of Education to establish relations with the people of their villages.

Of the 875 teachers in the government schools last year, about half were classified as "trained." It is thought that in the course of seven years a full staff of regularly trained teachers can be built up. Eleven hundred is regarded as the maximum number of teachers that will be required for some years to come.

Financial stringency has handicapped the Ministry of Education from the start, and there seems to be no hope of immediate relief. The allowances of the department in recent years are shown in the preceding table. Figures collected by the Palestine Director of Education for the annual cost per pupil of government elementary schools, indicate that the schools of 'Iraq are not expensively run:

'Iraq	$30
Palestine	$35
Egypt	$95
Sudan	$93

Nine New England cities, it may be noted, range from $63–$96.

Tuition is charged in the two highest forms of primary schools (about $5.50 a year); in the secondary schools ($11 a year); and in the law school ($55 a year).

The curriculum of the government schools is described as "an adaptation of the Swiss system." The primary course occupies six years; the secondary, four. The normal course is roughly the equivalent of a regular secondary course, with the addition of a little instruction in pedagogy. The Ministry of Education holds primary and

secondary examinations, open to pupils of both government and other schools. Successful candidates receive certificates which are recognized by certain higher institutions (such as the American University of Beirut) and by the government civil services. In this manner the government has succeeded in inducing most of the non-governmental schools to follow in general the same curriculum as the state schools. The language of instruction in the government schools is Arabic, except that in a number of towns Kurdish or Turkish is used. English is taught beginning with the fifth year of primary school.

Public education thus far has been almost entirely for townsmen's children, and there are few schools in agricultural villages. This partly accounts for the fact that the training given is almost purely academic. The authorities are anxious as soon as possible to develop village schools, adapted to the future agricultural occupation of their pupils.

Non-government schools, both native and foreign, are tolerated by the government. Under the British administration, considerable sums were distributed as grants-in-aid to such schools. The tendency of the 'Iraq government has been to reduce these subsidies, as the prevailing nationalistic sentiment favors government control of education. The grants made in 1924–25 totalled about $15,000.

At the time of the British occupation, the Christian denominational schools of the northern districts were in perilous circumstances. Rather than subsidize them, the administration took them over bodily, and they continue to be conducted as government schools, attended by their respective religious communities; the religious teachers are designated by the communities, the others by the Ministry of Education.

Four principal agencies conduct most of the foreign mission schools in 'Iraq. These are the Alliance Israelite Universelle, the French Carmelite Mission, and two American missions, the Arabian Mission of the Reformed Church in America, and the United Mission in Mesopotamia, a joint enterprise of the Reformed Church in America, the Reformed Church in the United States, and the Presbyterian Church. A list of the foreign denominational schools in 'Iraq, 1925–26, compiled by Mr. James Somerville, of the Ministry of Education, is given on the next page.

In addition to the schools in the following list, there is an Assyrian school at Baghdad for Protestant Assyrian refugees, which receives slight aid from the American Presbyterian Mission. The Assyrian school at Mosul is conducted under an American educational chaplain of the Protestant Episcopal Church, assisted by his sister and native teachers, and is confined to the Assyrian Church and nation. This work was only beginning at the time of the survey. It is coördinated with the work in Syria and Palestine discussed in the chapter on Palestine.

FOREIGN DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS IN 'IRAQ

School and Location	*Nationality*	*Pupils*	*Teachers*	*Classes*	*Religion*	*Supported by*
BAGHDAD						
Sharafat Iranian	Persian	125	7	6	Shiah Moslem	Assisted by Persian government.
St. Joseph's	French	171	14	9	Roman Catholic	French Carmelite Mission; little support from France.
Carmelite Sisters	French	1,007	30	16	Roman Catholic	
American Boys' *	American	168	10	8	Presbyterian	United Mission in Mesopotamia.
American Girls' *	American	54	4	6	Presbyterian	
Armenian	Armenian	294	12	10	Gregorian	Local support.
Alliance Boys'	Jewish	663	20	17	Jewish	Only the principals are paid by the Alliance Israelite.
Alliance Girls'	Jewish	1,409	28	17	Jewish	
BASRAH						
Alliance Boys'	Jewish	286	12	6	Jewish	Administered nominally by Alliance Israelite.
Alliance Girls'	Jewish	376	12	4	Jewish	
Armenian	Armenian	35	3	5	Gregorian	Arabian Mission.
Peblevi	Persian	58	3	3	Shiah Moslem	
American Boys' *	American	210	—	—	Presbyterian	
American Girls' *	American	60	—	—	Presbyterian	
American Girls' *	American	60	—	—	Presbyterian	
Carmelite Sisters	French	122	12	5	Roman Catholic	(The Sisters are French)
MOSUL						
Assyrian	Assyrian	272	8	4	Nestorian	Assyrian refugees.
Armenian	Armenian	91	4	5	Gregorian	Local Armenians.
American Girls'	American	198	8	8	Presbyterian	United Mission in Mesopotamia.
HILLAH						
Alliance (mixed)	Jewish	172	5	3	Jewish	Administered nominally by Alliance Israelite.
American Girls'	American	5	1	1	Presbyterian	An independent lady, Miss Strang. More a household than a school.
KHADIMAIN						
Akheewat Iranian	Persian	95	6	6	Shiah Moslem	Assisted by Persian government.
AMARAH						
Carmelite Boys'	French	169	12	7	Roman Catholic	Carmelite Mission.

* Data obtained directly from principal of the school.

The Carmelite Mission conducts two schools for boys and two for girls, with a total enrollment of about 1,500. According to an official of the Ministry of Education, these schools receive little financial aid from France.

The Alliance Israelite Universelle, a Jewish organization devoted to the propagation of French culture, has separate schools for boys and girls in Baghdad and Basrah, and a mixed school in Hillah. The total enrollment in their schools is nearly 3,000, the girls' school in Baghdad with 1,400 pupils being the largest school in the country. In the case of the Baghdad schools, it is reported that only the principals' salaries are paid by the Alliance; practically all of the funds for these, and for the schools in Basrah and Hillah, is contributed by wealthy local Jews.

American schools in 'Iraq have about 750 pupils, all told.

The American School for Boys at Basrah was founded in 1912 by Dr. John Van Ess, its present head. It is supported by the Arabian Mission of the Presbyterian Church. In October, 1926, it had an enrollment of 210 boys, ranging from beginners through the equivalent of last-year secondary school pupils. The great bulk of the pupils are Shiah Mohammedans, with a number of Christian boys deliberately included for the benefit which the former may derive from associating with them.

Arabic is the language of instruction in almost all of the classes; all but two of the teachers (the athletic director and the English teacher) are Arabic-speaking, Dr. Van Ess himself being an authority on the Arabic language. The technique employed in the school is unique among missionary schools: the boys are not divided into grades, classes or standards, but each one is advanced as rapidly as is desirable in each separate subject. Classes are limited to fifteen members. By no means all of the boys complete the full course, but the proportion who do so is said to be increasing. Six graduated in 1926. The tuition charged, five times the rate charged by the government schools, brings in about a fifth of the revenue of the school, the balance coming from the Mission.

Actual vocational training is not given, an exception being bookkeeping; but the boys are said to be advised on the choice of a vocation and assisted in pursuing their aptitudes. English is taught only to boys who have acquired a certain degree of proficiency in Arabic. Boys that wish to have higher education are urged to go not to the American University of Beirut, but to Europe or America, for the sake of "a complete change of moral atmosphere." In fact they are discouraged from going to the Beirut college by the fact that they have not received a sufficient training in English to enable them to enter the freshman class. Dr. Van Ess refuses to follow the government syllabus or to prepare pupils for government examinations be-

cause he regards as undesirable the tendency of so many students throughout the country to seek government jobs. The school is avowedly evangelistic, and bible study is compulsory.

The opinions of other persons interested in education vary as to the effects of the work of this school. One official ranks it far and away above all other schools in the country for its character-building; an associate of his believes that it would accomplish much in that respect if it were less handicapped by the eagerness of the boys to leave school prematurely. Certain missionaries take exception to its policy of preserving the nationality of its pupils by giving instruction in Arabic rather than trying to introduce its pupils as much as possible to American culture and traditions through the English language. On the whole, one gets the impression that Dr. Van Ess is unusually successful in turning out useful citizens.

The American School for Boys at Baghdad was established in 1924 by the Rev. and Mrs. Calvin Staudt. It is supported by the United Mission in Mesopotamia, a coöperative enterprise of the Presbyterian Church, and the Reformed Churches. It has two departments, primary and high school. The lower department had, in the fall of 1926, between 80 and 100 pupils; the upper, 150. Of the 230 to 250 pupils, approximately one-quarter each were Moslems and Jews, and one-half members of various Christian sects. The school is full, and could apparently have many more pupils if space would permit.

By contrast with the schools of the Arabian Mission in Basrah, Dr. Staudt's school is decidedly American in its plan. Arabic is of necessity used in the primary department, but English is taught from the beginning, and is the language of instruction in the high school, which comprises the last five years of the nine-year course. The first year of the high school is represented to be approximately equivalent in its curriculum to the highest grade of an American grammar school. Apparently the opportunity to learn the English language—which is at present a great economic advantage—is the leading attraction in drawing students to this school.

The tuition is 54 rupees (about $18) per year in the primary department, and 72 rupees (about $24) per year in the high school. Receipts from tuition cover the salaries of the teachers, who receive about one-half as much as the teachers in the government schools. There are four American teachers (not Arabic-speaking); three Syrians, former students (but not all graduates) of the American University of Beirut; and three or four other local teachers.

The American School for Girls at Mosul is a relatively old school, having passed through various hands in the course of its history. It was founded about 1850 by the American Board for Foreign Missions (Congregational). At different times it was run by the Church Missionary Society of England, the American Presbyterians and local

Protestants. Two years ago it was taken over by the United Mission in Mesopotamia, and placed in charge of Mrs. McDowell, a Presbyterian missionary. The enrollment in the fall of 1926 was approximately 250, comprising about 200 Christians, fifty Moslems, and three Yezids. The course at the time included seven primary grades and a kindergarten. Arabic is the language of instruction. The six teachers (excepting the directress) are products of the American Board schools of Mardine, Turkey.

A distinctive feature of the school is its kindergartners' training-class, from which eight girls were graduated last year. The government syllabus is followed in all subjects except religion. The Moslem girls in the school were first attracted by a dressmaking class, after entering which they became sufficiently interested to join the academic department. There is a nominal tuition charge of one rupee (32c) per month for those who are able to pay.

The United Mission in Mesopotamia maintains a girls' school of primary grade in Baghdad, under the direction of Mrs. Thoms, with about sixty girls. No tuition is paid. Arabic is the language of the school.

In 1924, Mrs. Staudt, the wife of the director of the boys' school, opened a school for girls with an enrollment of forty. The school was to have been of secondary grade, but it was closed after one year because candidates for admission did not have sufficient preparation. The policy of the school, like that of the boys' school, was to be strictly American, emphasizing the English language and following in general the curriculum of an American high school.[12] Some of the former pupils of the school have continued to meet as a "club," to study English literature and to engage in social work. The members of the club include Jewesses, Armenian Catholics, Assyrians, and one Moslem. The parents of a number of the pupils protested against the closing of the school.

The Arabian Mission also maintains two primary schools for girls in Basrah. As is the case in the boys' school, Arabic is the language of instruction, and the effort is said to be made to discourage the pupils from becoming denationalized. The schools have about sixty pupils each, most of them Shiah Moslems.

Miss Strang's School at Hillah is described by an official of the Ministry of Education as "more like a household than a school." It is the work of an independent American woman who has gathered about her five Moslem girls whom she is educating.

The two institutions professing to give higher education are the Al al-Bait University, and the Law College. The former is supported by Aukaf (religious endowments), the latter is conducted by the

12 It is reported (1927) that one of the teachers in the boys' school at Baghdad proposes to start a girls' school along similar lines.

Ministry of Education. The policy of the Ministry of Education is quite sanely opposed to the immediate launching of a program of higher education. With only 102 graduates from the government secondary schools during the last six years, the country is obviously not prepared for it. But the popular demand is strong, and it is not unlikely that within the next few years there may be various attempts—probably abortive—to offer education of collegiate grade.

Al al-Bait University occupies an imposing new building in a garden outside Baghdad. At present it consists of a Faculty of Theology with a dozen professors and about twice as many pupils. Many of the latter are just out of primary schools, so the school can scarcely be regarded as the institution of higher learning it purports to be. Plans for the future anticipate the erection of a large group of buildings, to house faculties of Medicine, Law, Arts, and other subjects. It is rumored that the Faculty of Medicine will be instituted in the fall of 1927. The present "university" is the apotheosis of the ambitions of those who wish to see revived a distinctively Arabic culture.

The Law College, run by the government, is at present the highest institution of learning in the country. It offers a four-year course, with a secondary education prerequisite. Most of the pupils are men who have no intention of becoming lawyers, but are seeking the prestige conferred by a legal education. Efforts of the authorities to make the course of study more strictly professional led to a reduction of the number of students, of whom there were 131 during the year 1925–26.

A medical school for 'Iraq is being seriously discussed. Briefly, the points in its favor are:

(1) The excellent facilities of the Royal Hospital at Baghdad, providing well-equipped laboratories and a wealth of clinical materials.

(2) The eagerness of 'Iraqis to have a complete educational system of their own.

(3) The desire of the British government not to appear hostile to the realization of this ambition.

Adverse considerations are:

(1) Shortage of funds.

(2) Limited opportunities for medical practitioners in 'Iraq at present.

(3) Inability of the schools of the country to give sound and thorough pre-medical training.

The third objection is a very serious one, as was pointed out in discussing higher education in general.

The government maintains two trade schools, a school of civil engineering and an agricultural school.

The trade schools, as throughout the Arab world, are popularly

regarded as places for orphans or boys of too little intelligence to receive a general primary education. With further industrial development in the country, public opinion may awaken to the fact that it is necessary either to have better trade schools or else to resort to the unpleasant expedient of importing skilled mechanics. Not until then can much progress be expected of the trade schools.

The school of engineering began as an adjunct of the Ministry of Communications and Works. Its pupils are in most cases earmarked for work on the railways, irrigation developments, or public works of the government. It is hoped before long to be able to require a full secondary education of entrants; in the meantime much effort is consumed in teaching the essentials of elementary mathematics which might better be learned before entering the school. The need for the school is clear, and it seems destined to make sound progress.

The agricultural school opened in the fall of 1926 with eight pupils. It is connected with and staffed by the personnel of the Experimental Farm at Rustamiyeh, near Baghdad. A three-year course, with about three-fifths of the time devoted to theory and two-fifths to practice, is offered. Students must be graduates of secondary schools—a fact which helps to account for the very small enrollment. The school is fortunate in its personnel, equipment, and the opportunities for practical experience for its pupils. Its greatest handicaps are the unwillingness of 'Iraqis who can afford a secondary education to demean themselves by manual labor, and—like all government undertakings—poverty. It is to be feared that most of the pupils will be candidates for office jobs with the Ministry of Agriculture; the one hopeful sign that this may not be wholly so is the tendency of the agricultural syndicates referred to earlier and of the owners of large estates to engage trained supervisors.

No other form of agricultural education is now seriously undertaken. When closely questioned, school officials state that simple lessons in agriculture are included under the heading of "object lessons and hygiene" in the curriculum of village primary schools. But it is safe to suspect that these lessons do not amount to much.

The Ministry of Aukaf (religious endowments) spends a good part of its income in the support of Sunni Moslem schools. Of the sum of about $100,000 which it devoted to education in 1924–25, about $35,000 went to Al al-Bait University, and some $40,000 to five schools of secondary grade. These schools are for the preparation of future ecclesiastical officials. Their major attention is given to theology and rhetoric; but they claim to have compromised somewhat with the modern demand for more practical subjects. The balance was expended for elementary schools which give very young children two years' training in the rudiments of reading, writing, arithmetic, and

geography, and a good deal of religious teaching. It is often objected that the money might better be turned over to the support of regular government primary schools, but neither the law nor public opinion would permit this at present.

The Ma'had al 'Ilmi, a society founded in 1922 for the avowed object of holding cultural lectures for the intelligensia, soon turned its attention to classes in the evening for adult illiterates. By 1924, it had branches in Baghdad and forty other places, with an enrollment of 5,000. But the zeal of its promoters seemed to wane, and by the end of 1925 the enrollment had fallen to about 2,000, where it still remains. In addition to classes for illiterates, a smaller number of regular primary and secondary classes are held. At the outset, the society Ma'had al 'Ilmi was in bad odor with the government, being suspected of political radicalism. But its standing has improved, and its work receives subsidies from the government, as well as the use of the public-school buildings.

Social Conditions

The following résumé is for the most part based frankly upon the most superficial, and largely indirect observation. But nothing better could be done without prolonged residence. The observations made on social conditions in Syria may in general be regarded as true also of 'Iraq. (See p. 254.)

In the American sense, there is little home life. The woman, as is common throughout the East, is a breeding animal and a servant, and little else. In the country, men and women work together in the fields, the women carrying on just as hard labor as the men. There is little recreation *en famille*: in the towns, the men flock to the coffee-houses, which, of course, are not frequented by their wives. Among the townswomen, the veil is universally worn except by working women of the lowest class. Women of the tribes do not as a rule wear the veil, but social intercourse between women and men who are not of the same family is taboo. There is a great discrepancy between the average size of surviving families and the average number of children born in a family. Early marriage and early old age are the rule among women.

No statistics of infantile mortality are available for 'Iraq, but there is no doubt that the rate is excessively high. Uncleanliness and ignorance of or inability to provide proper nutrition are at the bottom of most of the disease which carries away so many infants. There are no social agencies of the type to which we are accustomed, devoted to child welfare. Clinics are held at the hospitals and by government physicians, but the problem is to induce mothers to bring their chil-

dren for the necessary medical attention. As for non-medical care, practically nothing is accomplished toward training mothers. A certain amount of training and supervision for mothers of infants is undertaken by individual women—missionaries or wives of British officials. But superstition and ignorance are hard to overcome. One Englishwoman who conducts a small child-welfare center in her home, reports that if she should tell a mother outright to give her infant a bath, her advice would be ignored; but if she tells her to bathe the child in the river while calling seven times upon the name of Allah, her instructions may perhaps be followed.

Children are admitted to the *mulla* schools at a very early age; those who do not attend—a great majority—are soon put to work.

In the control of prostitution, little has been accomplished. In Basrah, certain hygienic measures are said to be enforced in the brothels; it is also said that there is some hope that this example may be imitated in Baghdad. To prohibit prostitution would, in the words of the Inspector-General of Health, be to lay a sentence of death on the prostitutes, who have no other means of livelihood.

Intemperance is reputed by the natives to have been introduced by Europeans, and is said by Europeans always to have been present. It is most noticeable in the larger towns, where the sale of western liquors in Arabic cabarets has increased markedly. Gambling does not seem to be one of the greater moral problems of the country. Sexual perversion among schoolboys is often mentioned by European educational officials. Begging is a recognized profession, and the number of beggars has been augmented by the insecurity of the country during the past decade. Begging is practically the only means of livelihood open to the blind and the crippled.

Crime in 'Iraq consists principally of theft and violence against persons and property. "A most noticeable feature of the statistics (of the Jails Department) [13] for the year is the greatly increased number dealt with in the jails of the country—11,489, as compared with 8,199 in 1924. . . . A large proportion of those admitted were farmers, so perhaps the hard winter of 1924–25 with the resultant failure of crops, may be responsible in some measure for the influx. . . . A very perceptible increase in the number of civil debtors occurred during the year." It probably may be safely said that the establishment of civil government in the place of the ancient tribal organization in the country will bring about an increased use of the government jails.

Pauperism is not as yet a matter of concern to the state. Those who are unable to support themselves by their industry are carried along either by their families, by the proceeds of begging on the streets, or by charity given haphazard by the religious community

[13] *Administration Report*, 1925, pp. 44–45.

head or by pious individuals. The aged are regarded as responsibilities of their families.

There is one small Jewish school for the blind in 'Iraq, which, it is said, has scarcely any blind pupils, and is devoted chiefly to teaching handicrafts to those who can see.

The care of the insane and the mentally deficient along modern therapeutic lines has not been developed as yet. Visitors to the Serai, the government administration building in Baghdad, are sometimes struck by the appearance of a man who lingers about the courtyard, dressed only in a burlap bag, which he is said sometimes to discard. He is a lunatic, who has lived in this fashion for a number of years, exciting little attention from the occupants of the building, who occasionally give him some food.

Coffee-houses, and cabarets, both patronized exclusively by men, are the two principal recreational facilities of the country. It is a puzzle to an outsider how so many of the men of a town can apparently spend all of their time listening to the shrieks of a gramophone in their coffee-houses, and still earn enough to live on. The cabarets, where Levantine singers and dancers entertain, are found only in the largest towns.

The cinema and the public dance-hall are beginning to be patronized by the young bloods of Baghdad, but their clientèle is still relatively small. The type of film shown in the cinemas is a positive menace in a community which is in a transitional state in morality and ethics. Any measure to effect an improvement in the version of western behavior exhibited would be a blessing.

Organized recreation for children has not yet arrived. It is a sad sight to watch schoolboys during their period of "physical training," marching around and around the school yard to the accompaniment of a chant. There are boy-scout troops in some of the schools, but these are described by British educational officials as amounting to little but marching clubs. The principal of the American school for girls at Mosul spoke of her attempts to get the girls to play games. They were unable to lose their self-consciousness and play the game as anything but a required exercise.

The British Y. M. C. A. has a branch in Baghdad, which at present is practically exclusively devoted to the welfare of the British forces in the country. It contemplates extending its work among the natives, but has made no progress in that direction as yet, except in conducting one or two evening classes in business subjects.

CHAPTER VIII

PALESTINE

By Elbridge Sibley

Palestine[1] has undoubtedly more foreign philanthropic, educational and evangelistic agencies in proportion to its population than any other country in the world. At the same time, it is apparently making little progress in the direction of self-support and of becoming a stable member of the family of nations. A large part of its population lives in poverty, ignorance, and dirt. This neglected element is the Arab peasantry, which ought to be the mainstay of the country's economic life. Little spontaneous progress along other lines can be expected until the people become self-supporting; and there is little prospect of this being accomplished without temporary aid from outside, of a different character than that which has for long been received.

Demography

In an area of 9,000 square miles, about equal to that of the state of Vermont, present-day Palestine embraces a population of some 850,000. Roughly 85 per cent of the population (estimated as of June, 1926), is of Arab stock, and 15 per cent Jewish. About 100,000 of the population are nomadic Arab tribesmen. The growth of the population since the War has been remarkable. It is estimated to have increased by 100,000 since the census of 1922, when already there had been a considerable increase since the armistice.

Jewish immigration under the ægis of the Zionist Organization has been the outstanding factor in the recent history of the country. At the outbreak of the War there were some 50,000 Jews in the country. The official statistics[2] of immigration and emigration since 1919 follow:

1 The data on which this report is based were mainly collected by the writer during the month of August, 1926. The United Missionary Conference of Palestine has supplied some of the information regarding mission schools, and a brief report on medical missionary work. Its survey committee was unfortunately handicapped by the sudden death of its secretary, Mr. Macintyre, and the absence from the country of its chairman, Bishop MacInnes, and most of its original members. Invaluable assistance was received from government officials, by the consent of His Excellency the High Commissioner.

2 Abstract of tables from Permits Section, Palestine Government.

	JEWISH IMMIGRANTS	JEWISH EMIGRANTS	
		Pre-War Residents	*Returning Immigrants*
January 1, '19–August 1, '20	2,000	——	——
August 1, '20–December 31, '21	14,683	——	——
July 1, '21–December 31, '21	——	150	347
1922	7,844	292	686
1923	7,421	621	1,641
1924	12,856	457	960
1925	33,801	666	1,485
January 1–July 1, '26	9,516	205	2,050
TOTAL	88,121	2,391	7,169
Total Jewish	88,121	9,560	
Total Gentile	3,169	6,605	
GRAND TOTALS	91,290	16,165	

By the end of 1925, at least a temporary saturation point seemed to have been reached, after some 80,000 Jews from all parts of the world, but especially from central and eastern Europe, had immigrated. For the first half of the year 1926, the immigration rate was only a trifle over one-half of the average for the preceding year, while the re-emigration rate among recently arrived immigrants was more than two and one-half times as great as during 1925, and more than four times that of 1924.

The Arabic population is predominantly rural, while the Jews are as a rule townsmen. The following table indicates clearly how small a proportion of the latter are located outside of the larger towns:

TOWN	POPULATION	
	Total (1924) *	*Jewish (1925)* †
Jerusalem	64,613	42,000
Jaffa and Tel-Aviv	50,077	——
Tel-Aviv	——	40,000
Jaffa	——	8,000
Haifa	25,811	14,000
Gaza	18,347	——
Hebron	17,399	800
Nablus	16,653	
Tiberias	7,290	5,000
Safad	9,188	3,000
Afule	‡	1,000
Other towns	48,150	200
TOTAL URBAN POPULATION	257,528	114,000
Settled Rural Population	423,717	24,000
Nomads §	100,000	——

* Health Department's data.
† *Administration Report*, 1925.
‡ Less than 2,000.
§ Estimated.

Of the total population only about two out of five live in towns and of the Arab population less than one out of three, but of the Jews more than four out of five are townsmen. The contrast between the

predominantly rural Arab population and the overwhelmingly urban Jewish population is obvious. The situation can have one of three outcomes: (1) Ruralization of the Jewish population. (2) Far more extensive industrial development than can reasonably be anticipated in the near future. (3) Continued dependence of the population, especially the Jewish immigrant group, upon large receipts from foreign charities and tourist trade.

The refugee population of Palestine is small. The Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem states that there are some 2,000 or 2,500 Armenian refugees in Palestine. Some of these are receiving aid from the religious community; a few hundred orphans formerly kept in Jerusalem have been transferred to the orphanage of the Armenian Benevolent Union in Beirut. An undetermined number of Syrians have crossed the northern frontier as a result of military operations in southern Syria. They have no legal status in Palestine, and are expected to return to their homes.

A relatively small number of native Palestinians are continually emigrating, chiefly to North and South America. The total number of Palestinians living abroad is, however, considerable. There are villages (of Arabs) which are said to get a good part of their living from relatives in more prosperous countries. The principal of a mission secondary school stated that about 40 per cent of former pupils who had attended the school for two years or more are now in America.

The greatest social, economic and political cleavage in the country is between Zionists and non-Zionists. The latter group includes a majority of the Jewish residents who were living in Palestine before the War, as well as practically all of the gentile population. Zionism is to be regarded as primarily a political rather than a religious movement. Shortly after the beginning of the Zionist incursion after the War, there are said to have been riots in some places. In late years there have been no serious public disturbances, but animosity between Zionists and natives seems to continue to be strong.

Relations between Moslems and Christians are as a whole tolerant. It is said that before the War there was no great animosity between the Jews and either of the other communities; this is to some extent still true of the pre-War Jews, but there seems to be a growing tendency on the part of the gentiles to group all Jews together.

Recurrent riots have arisen from the rival claims of different Christian sects to various holy places. A soldier is always posted at the Manger in Bethlehem to prevent such occurrences. A featured article in the American press related that Christmas of 1926 was the first one in many years which had not been marked by riots. Westerners who take for granted a considerable degree of mutual tolerance on the part of different Christian sects are often astonished at the jealousy and suspicion which prevails.

Political Conditions

From the end of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, in 1291, until 1917, Palestine was under the rule of various eastern empires. It was a Turkish territory from 1517 to 1917, with the exception of the years 1831–40, when it was ruled by Egypt.

The present civil administration was established in 1920, with Sir Herbert Samuels, an ardent Zionist, as High Commissioner. Sir Herbert was replaced in 1925 by Field Marshal Lord Plumer, a man less partial to the Zionist cause. The famous Balfour Declaration was made by the then Foreign Secretary in November, 1917, a month before the capture of Jerusalem by British forces:

> His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country.

The precise interpretation of this declaration, which has been incorporated in the terms of the Mandate from the League of Nations, is not self-evident. Arab leaders protest at the failure of the declaration to guarantee their political as well as civil and religious rights, claiming that they have been coolly deprived even of rights which they enjoyed under Turkey.

Up to the present, no autonomous central government has been established. Leaders of the Arabs insist upon representation of the various communities in proportion to their numbers, while the Zionists demand that they shall have at least an unquestionable majority in any representative body. The net result has undoubtedly been fortunate for the business efficiency of the administration, which is not hampered by the devious functionings of a legislative assembly.

Budgets of administrative expenditures[3] for the last three years have been as follows:

	Egyptian pounds (1 pound = $5)		
	1923–4	*1924–5*	*1926–7 (estimates)*
Public Debt and Pensions	78,800	146,240	323,406
Administration, General	275,993	221,579	241,140
Commerce, Communication, Transport, Public Works	657,038	593,448	960,283
Education	97,278	100,099	121,378
Health	91,355	82,329	97,679
Agriculture, Fisheries	35,617	34,799	59,779
Police, Protection	265,273	464,942	506,662
Miscellaneous	131,873	163,224	213,707
	1,633,227	1,806,660	2,524,034

[3] Sources of public revenues are discussed in the section "Economic Conditions."

Local administration is still, as a rule, in the hands of men appointed by the High Commissioner. A few of the large towns elect their officials, and some of the Zionist colonies are said to be on a basis approaching communism. The practice of appointing local officials, instead of permitting local elections as was done under Turkish control, was continued until the latter part of 1926, on account of fear of racial disturbances in municipalities partly Jewish and partly Arab. The High Commissioner has now issued an ordinance providing for local elections.[4]

As is the case in other Arabic countries, matters of personal status are judged by religious courts of the various communities. The Moslem courts have jurisdiction also over Moslem *aukaf* (religious endowments). Other civil matters and criminal cases are in the hands of government courts, as are also cases in which the parties are of different faiths. The civil courts are presided over by English, Arab, and Jewish judges.

Economic Conditions

Palestine is an agricultural rather than an industrial country, and—despite a great deal of publicity regarding the harnessing of the Jordan River, and other industrial projects which have recently been put forward—seems unlikely to become industrialized to any significant extent within the next few years. Devoid, so far as has been discovered, of any important fuel or mineral resources except the saline deposits of the Dead Sea, Palestine must undoubtedly achieve self-sufficiency through agriculture, if it does so at all. At present the "invisible exports" of the country are much more valuable than the tangible exports, imports in 1925 having been five times as great as exports.

Five topographical areas, differing in their agricultural development and possibilities, may be distinguished:

1. The Coastal Plain, the most densely populated and fertile area, is famous for its oranges. Other fruits, and grains and tobacco are also widely grown.

2. The Plain of Esdraelon is in reality a continuation inland of the coastal plain. Until recently, it was a miasmic swamp, almost uninhabited. It is here that Zionist agricultural colonies have sprung up rapidly, and have reclaimed some of the most promising available land in Palestine.

3. The highlands of Galilee, Samaria and Judea present a less hopeful picture. Deforestation and erosion have done tremendous damage to the soil. Grain is the chief crop; olives are grown, to a less

[4] These elections took place without disturbance, April, 1927.

extent than before the War, and there is some grazing of sheep and goats.

4. The Jordan Valley is fertile and well watered; but it is very narrow and cursed with a disagreeably hot climate.

5. South and east of Beersheeba and Gaza begins the unproductive Arabian Desert, where only those who live with, and on, the camel, have thus far been able to support themselves.

A number of years ago studies were made of the mineral resources of the Dead Sea.

> The Dead Sea . . . contains roughly thirty billion tons of mixed salts, of which possibly one and one-half billion tons are potassium chloride. Palestine is thus the richest country in the world for potash resources. These also occur under the most favorable conditions. The salts occur as a strong brine, immediately ready for evaporation and crystallization for the production of pure salts by the natural heat of the sun.[5]

The exploitation of the Dead Sea salts is without doubt the most promising industrial potentiality of Palestine, but thus far there has been no attempt at commercial extraction of these salts.

Agriculture

According to the estimate of the United States Consul[6] roughly one-third of the area of Palestine is barren land capable of little if any agricultural development, while another one-fifth is of doubtful possibilities. Of the remainder, about a third, or 1,000,000 acres, is under cultivation, leaving something like 2,000,000 acres of uncultivated land which might perhaps be made productive. But it must be remembered that the area under cultivation includes the most fertile land of the country, while that which is not yet exploited would in many cases require expensive outlay for irrigation and other improvements, thus diminishing the net profit that could be derived from it.

The agricultural technique of the Arab peasantry is inefficient and destructive of the fertility of the land, which is repeatedly cropped without the addition of any fertilizer. As a result it is not surprising to read that the average production of grains per acre in 1919–20 was less than a third of the corresponding Egyptian figures.

Shortly after the War, despite the primitive methods of production, the country produced more cereals than it consumed; of late years there has been a considerable balance of grain imported.[7] It remains to be seen whether this situation will improve after the great numbers of newly arrived immigrants have found permanent occupation.

5 Luke and Keith-Roach. *Handbook of Palestine.* 1922.
6 Southard, A. E. *Special Consular Report,* No. 83, 1922.
7 *Annual Report of the Director of Agriculture.* 1925.

The government Director of Agriculture had in hand for the year 1926–27 projects to establish a number of stations as follows:

(1) Stud farms at Acre, Nazareth, Nablus, Jerusalem, Ramleh and Gaza.
(2) Agricultural and horticultural stations, at Acre, Beisan, and Jericho.
(3) A forest nursery at Acre.
(4) A citrus station (on the coastal plain).

The Director furnished the following statement regarding the work of the department: "No extensive capital expenditure on agricultural research and education has been possible until the present year (1926–27). Instruction has consequently been of a peripatetic character. It is now intended to substitute demonstrations at stations and sedentary research for the earlier system. The problems of education and rural development are: (1) Illiteracy of the large majority of *fellahin* (peasants), necessitating reliance on visual instruction. (2) Absence of any adequate credit system for development and improved practice, resulting from the lack of the pending survey and settlement." The last sentence alludes to the difficulties inherent in the present system of land tenure, which will be discussed presently.

There are also a number of Jewish experiment stations and schools, to wit:

Experiment station and extension service conducted by the Palestine Zionist Executive.

Experimental work of the Jewish Colonization Association at Benjamina and Caesaraea.

Mikveh-Israel Agricultural School at Jaffa.

Children's villages of the Palestine Orphan Committee.

The Italian Catholic order of the Salesian Brothers conducts an agricultural school for Christian orphans, with about sixty pupils, at Bait Jamal, between Jerusalem and Jaffa. A bequest of £120,000 ($575,000) by a wealthy Jew to the Palestine government, has been allocated to the establishment of two agricultural schools, one for Jews and one for Arabs. It will be discussed more fully in the section on "Education."

Jewish colonists of the late nineteenth century introduced orange-growing on the coastal plain of Philistia, and thus contributed greatly to the welfare of the country. The later Jewish immigrants have undertaken some very ambitious agricultural developments in Galilee, on the Plain of Esdraelon, and in the valley of Jezreel. Backed by funds from abroad, they have undertaken the practice of farming according to the latest methods.

A relatively small proportion of the Jewish immigrants of the last few years have taken up agriculture. Most of them were formerly city dwellers and ignorant of the most elementary principles of farming. The Director of the Zionist Experiment Station writes:

For the *fellah,* gross returns and net profits are the same thing, for he spends nothing. When our stalled cow yields 2,500 litres of milk a year, we have not 700 litres left as clear profit—not so much as the *fellah* obtains from his cow which yields only 700 litres altogether.

As against the primitive agriculture represented by the *fellah,* our weapons in the struggle are too heavy, and he overcomes us by his natural lightness which enables him to hold his own.[8]

The Zionist Organization estimated that at the prices prevailing in 1924, it would cost $3,500 to settle a family on a farm. Actual outlays are said probably to have averaged considerably higher.

Industries in Palestine are of two classes: the indigenous handcrafts of the country, and the recent projects which have been introduced by Zionists. The former suffer from decadence, and are not equal to the struggle against the machine production of Europe and America. Weaving is almost extinct; pottery-making has been revived in a couple of shops in Jerusalem, through the efforts of the Pro-Jerusalem Society; the making of glassware in the southern part of the country is almost a lost art. Souvenirs and bric-a-brac, which are sought by tourists and pilgrims, are probably the most profitable manufactures. It might be possible to stimulate further development of such work; but the future for hand-weaving and the making of various necessities by slow and inefficient methods is not bright.

The new Jewish industries of the country present a very different aspect. Their tendency seems to be to plan large-scale production in a country which has not yet found the requisite raw materials nor yet developed a sufficient market for the products. A cement factory at Haifa, with a capacity of 200 to 250 tons per day, and a brick and tile factory at Tel-Aviv have done a fairly good business during the building boom, although it is generally reported that the former was losing money. It seems reasonable to suppose that with the recession of building activity which is bound to come unless immigration resumes and continues at its previous high rate, such factories as these will experience hard times. A salt factory on the coast extracted 6,300 tons of marine salt in 1925. According to the United States Commerce Report for May 10, 1926, a total of well over $10,000,000 had been invested in industrial enterprises since the War, and about 5,000 persons employed. A local estimate is as follows:[9]

	Jewish	*Other*
Number of factories and workshops employing 3 or more	650	70
Number of workers	6,000	1,000
Total capital invested	$11,000,000	

Cigarette making, employing about 400 persons, is the only new

[8] Eleazor-Volcani: *Transition from Primitive to Modern Agriculture.* Tel-Aviv, Palestine Economic Association, 1925.

[9] Dr. L. Lutsky, Permits Section, Palestine Government (August, 1926).

industry in which Jewish enterprises do not predominate. Wine making and soap and olive oil making, two industries well adapted to the country's resources, have been showing signs of a revival, although the former, in 1926, had not regained its pre-War magnitude.

The provision of a supply of cheap power, either by hydro-electric developments, or by the introduction of an oil supply by the projected pipe line from the fields of 'Iraq to Haifa, might make conditions more promising for industrial development; but the paucity of raw materials would remain.

The Jewish immigrants have brought with them and have sought through trade unions to maintain a standard of living considerably higher than the average level of the natives of the country. This has already been alluded to in discussing their agricultural ventures. A comparison of wages of Jewish and Arab workers is also enlightening:

	DAILY WAGES OF WORKERS	
	Jews	*Arabs*
Industrial:		
Skilled	$1.50–2.50	$ .75–1.75
Unskilled	$1.00–1.25	$ .30– .50
Agricultural	$ .60–1.00	$ .50–1.00

In the summer of 1926, serious unemployment was present among Jewish workers, arising especially from the slump in building activity. Nearly a fifth of all Jewish workers had been unemployed since the beginning of the year. The occupations of those without work were as follows:[10]

Builders	2,400
Unskilled labor	1,800
Others	1,800

The progressive rise of unemployment among Jewish workers totaling about 30,000 is worthy of attention:[11]

1925		*1926*	
July	300	January	4,729
August	950	February	4,741
September	975	March	4,902
October	1,750	April	5,657
November	2,000	May	6,113
December	2,700	June	6,400

For a country economically as weak as Palestine, such a proportion of unemployment is a very serious matter.

For years Palestine has shown a very unfavorable balance of foreign trade:[12]

10 Dr. L. Lutsky. *Report on Labour Conditions.* 1926.
11 *Palestine Bulletin* (Jerusalem daily paper), August 16, 1926.
12 Figures for 1913 from Pamphlet of Arab Committee, October, 1925; since 1919 from *Palestine and Near East Economic Magazine,* August, 1926.

YEARS	IMPORTS	EXPORTS	DIFFERENCE
	£ *Eg.**	£ *Eg.**	£ *Eg.**
1913	1,616,000	1,093,000	503,000
1919	3,126,464	853,141	2,273,323
1920	5,409,987	1,318,620	4,091,367
1921	5,871,878	1,416,368	4,455,510
1922	5,928,831	1,586,503	4,342,328
1923	5,124,945	1,834,118	3,290,827
1924	5,589,769	2,129,931	3,460,748
1925	7,603,923	1,588,157	6,015,766

* One pound Egyptian (£ Eg. 1), in 1923, was worth $4.69; in 1924, $4.53; and in 1925, $4.95.

Manufactured articles and foodstuffs were the chief items of import, the latter having increased by 50 per cent in 1925 as compared to 1924. Oranges, soap, melons, and tobacco were the leading exports. The great rise in the adverse trade balance in 1925 may probably be accounted for largely by the immigration in that year of the record number of 34,000 persons. How far it will disappear again as these people become settled, is yet to be seen.

At present there is scarcely a town in Palestine not easily accessible within half a day by motor from Jerusalem. The Palestine Railways include standard gauge lines from Haifa to Egypt and from Jerusalem to Jaffa, and narrow gauge lines connecting Haifa and Acre with the Hejaz Railway (Damascus to the Hejaz) and with Nablus. There is a good motor road to the Lebanon. Haifa and Jaffa, the two seaports, lack sheltered harbors and docks. The government projects improvements at Haifa, and Jewish organizations are anxious to create a harbor for Jaffa.

The receipts of the government from taxation in 1923–24 and 1924–25 were as follows:

	1923–4	*1924–5*
	£ *Eg.*	£ *Eg.*
Customs	481,778	626,016
Port and Marine	5,653	5,967
Licenses, internal taxes, etc.	518,229	611,567

Tithes on agricultural produce, assessed at 12.5 per cent, are the principal internal source of revenue. The assessment is in charge of a British inspector, and the collection is on the whole probably much better managed than in most eastern countries. The system is an inheritance from Turkish rule, and is not in all respects desirable. It places what is widely considered an unwholesome burden upon agriculture, which is already in a sad state.

As compared with neighboring countries, Palestine has had little difficulty with its budget. Aside from grants for the support of the British section of the gendarmerie (now disbanded), the country has received no outright aid from Great Britain. A loan of £4,500,000 ($21,400,000) from the Imperial government was arranged during 1926. This is to be spent for the purchase by Palestine of the Pales-

tine Railways (an item strongly opposed by Arab nationalists), and for outlays in public works.

The distribution of wealth in Palestine, as in neighboring countries, is very uneven. Much of the real property is in the hands of a small class of relatively wealthy persons, or else is owned by religious or Zionist associations. The discouraging situation of the agricultural worker may well be imagined from a brief description of the Turkish system of land tenure, which is in the main still in effect.

Land is divided into five categories: *mulk, miri, waqf, metruqe* and *mewat*. *Mulk* approaches most closely to our freehold. Inheritance, however, is restricted by various technicalities of Islamic law. *Miri* land, which comprises most of the land in Palestine, is technically the property of the state, the individual having only the right of occupancy. In the event that the land is not cultivated in three successive years, it is supposed to revert to the state—a provision salutary in itself, but often neglected or abused by the Turkish administrators. *Waqf* is mortmain property which has been devised by will to the support of religious or charitable objects. It is administered by the Supreme Moslem Council. *Metruqe* is land held by communities for public use, as for roads and parks. *Mewat* is unclaimed land, the title of which rests in the state. It may be taken up by individuals on application to the land department.

In years past, a great deal of *miri* land occupied by *fellahin* had been transferred by them to a small number of notables whose influence with the tax gatherers was a valuable protection. Recently, some of these lands were sold by their nominal owners to Jewish colonization organizations, and the occupants who had originally established the right to occupancy were ejected. The government felt obliged to make restitution to the unfortunate occupants, and has taken steps to prevent a recurrence of such an injustice.

It is obvious that a person cultivating land which is held in the name of an absentee landlord who merely collects his yearly share of the produce, will not be disposed to give much attention to the improvement of the land, but will simply try to extract what he can from it from year to year until the soil is exhausted.

Health

Palestine alone among Near-eastern countries claims to have something approaching complete registration of births and deaths. The birth-rate and death-rate per thousand of population, and the infant deaths per thousand births are as follows:

Year	*Birth-rate*	*Death-rate*	*Infant Deaths*
1923	47	26	185
1924	51	26	185
1925	49	27	188

The infant mortality is estimated by various authorities as probably much greater than the recorded figure—perhaps as high as 400 per 1,000 in the villages. General birth- and death-rates are very high as compared with those of western European countries. It is remarked that if an Arab villager survives his second year, he will probably live almost indefinitely. The health officer states that there is no very great difference in fertility and mortality between the Arabic and Jewish contingents of the population.

Disease

The epidemiology of Palestine is in general typical of Near-eastern countries. Trachoma is very common, although the incidence is said to be noticeably less than in Egypt. Malaria, however, has been brought under control in most regions by an unusually successful campaign. Diseases of the enteric group—diarrheas, typhoid and dysenteries—are widespread. Tuberculosis is present and is believed to be gaining ground. An official of the Health Department estimated that in 1925 there were between 3,000 and 4,000 active cases.

Of 10,577 government school-children who were medically inspected, 6,646 or 62.8 per cent were found to be affected by trachoma. In the village schools 73 per cent of the children were affected, while in the town schools, where the routine preventive treatment is more skilled and systematic, only 56 per cent were affected.[13]

The following tables[13] show the proportions of school-children found to be suffering from various diseases, and the relative incidence (as reported) of the more common contagious diseases in the population.

MORBIDITY OF SCHOOL-CHILDREN EXAMINED

	Per cent
Defective vision	4.7
Four or more decayed teeth	1.9
Enlarged spleen (malaria)	3.6
Heart disease	0.3
Lung affections (non-tuberculous)	0.5
Tuberculosis	0.4

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES REPORTED (1924)

	Cases	*Deaths*
Measles	5,998	824
Syphilis	1,383	6
Whooping cough	883	63
Influenza	861	26
Dysenteries	726	27
Pneumonia	702	442
Gonorrhoea	649	0
Tuberculosis	627	217
Epidemic ulcer	516	0
Typhoid fever	299	32
Chicken-pox	250	0

[13] *Health Department Report*, 1924.

The fact must of course be duly discounted that some diseases are much more faithfully reported than others.

The anti-malaria work done in Palestine is worthy of especial notice. The following excerpts are from a report on the subject by the League of Nations.

In Jerusalem in 1904, according to Cropper, the spleen-rate among Jewish children living outside the gates was between 36 and 60 per cent. In 1912, according to Brunn and Goldberg, the spleen-rate among 616 children was 59 per cent. . . . In 1921, the routine examination of 851 children in the government schools gave a spleen-rate of 19 per cent; in 1924 it was zero among 829; and at other examinations (Jewish schools) 1.9 per cent.

The number of deaths caused by malaria (in Jerusalem) was:

1918	113
1919	35
1920	30
1921	17
1922	5
1923	5
1924	2

The spleen-rates show an undoubted decrease of the prevalence of malaria, whereas the mortality figures may have been lowered in the first years as a consequence of factors not immediately influencing the malaria rate. (i.e., the population was nearly starved in 1917.)

The eradication of malaria in Palestine has been accomplished by anti-mosquito measures. All wells and cisterns are required to be covered or oiled. "Through the activity of various agencies, 5,574 acres of marshy ground [have been drained]. No fewer than 45,000 wells, cisterns and cesspits are now being regularly oiled; the actual number of oilings is over 700,000 per year."[14]

The remarks of the League of Nations' expert on the lessons learned from the campaign are significant:

But if we ask what practical use we can make of the knowledge gained, things do not look quite so hopeful. I have seen concrete open ditches which were quite safe in Palestine, but which would breed *Nyssorhynchus maculatus* in Sumatra. The drainage canals in the Beisan district would be useless in a rainy country. . . . Many a tropical and sub-tropical population would simply refuse to live in a town with such an absolute want of bathing facilities as Jerusalem.

As to the urban schemes, conditions are so widely different from anything which is known in other lands, where malaria usually becomes a problem only when rural conditions prevail over the urban ones, that . . . the experience gained here is of very limited application.

Only when all these peculiarities and the limitations they offer to a general application are kept in mind will the Palestinian methods be found useful and encouraging.

[14] *Report of the High Commissioner, 1920–25.*

One has only to visit any place where irrigation canals and ditches, kept full by a river, are necessary to the economic life, to be convinced of the validity of the foregoing cautions.

The Department of Health exercises general supervision over all medical and sanitary work in the country. The Hadassah Medical Organization is in immediate charge of work in many of the Jewish colonies. It has been the policy of the Department of Health to turn over its hospitals as rapidly as possible to local control and support. As a first step, the plants and non-medical services are first turned over to local bodies, while the medical work is for the time being retained in the hands of the central authority. Thus the number of hospitals under the Department has been reduced from twelve in 1922 to four at the beginning of 1925. The anti-malaria campaign has already been referred to at some length. Other activities of the Department of Health include the usual functions of quarantine, licensing of medical practitioners, inspection of food and water supplies and the like.

Lessons in hygiene are included in the curriculum of the government schools, but the instructions to teacher indicate that they are especially expected to teach by example. Tangible evidence of the effects of attempts at health education *per se* are not easy to find. A "Health Week" was held in 1924, under the auspices of the Department of Health and the Hadassah Medical Organization, but was not repeated in the following year.

The water supply of Palestine is notoriously scanty and poor in quality. Only the largest towns have comparatively good systems, all of them of quite recent installation. Jerusalem was wholly dependent upon its cisterns and wells until the British occupation. A temporary limited water supply has been installed, which probably shortly will be replaced with a more adequate one, from sixty miles away.

The prevailing methods of handling the food supply are undoubtedly responsible for the dissemination of a great many bacteria. Meat is slaughtered and eaten on the same day, as there is no provision for refrigeration. This prevents the importation of any but preserved or tinned meats—a disadvantage which was readily appreciated during the summer of 1926, when, on account of an epidemic of rinderpest among the cattle of the country, the slaughtering of cattle for meat was prohibited. To prevent its souring, the people customarily boil their milk before using it. The incidental prophylactic value of this proceeding is unquestionable.

From a western point of view, housing conditions are very poor. The universal use of stone instead of wood—through economic necessity—is a palliative factor.

Disposal of sewage is a less serious problem than it would be if there were a greater supply of water. This fact is recognized by the

health authorities, who are considering the installation of a new sewer system for Jerusalem in anticipation of the enlarged water supply. Offal is regularly used as fertilizer on vegetable gardens.

The pilgrimage to Mecca is an annual source of infection, and requires thorough quarantine procedure on the frontiers. Practically all cases of plague in recent years have been brought in by pilgrims.

Palestine is far better equipped with hospitals than any neighboring country. There were, in 1924, a total of forty hospitals, containing 1,809 beds. Of these, all but ten were maintained by non-government organizations. A complete list is given on next page.

During 1924, 26,988 patients were admitted to the hospitals in Palestine, of whom 12,864 were Jews, 8,503 Moslems, and 4,779 Christians. Nearly 14 per cent of the Jewish population were admitted to hospitals during the year—a rate about eight times as high as among Moslems. The admissions of Christians amounted to about 6.5 per cent of the Christian population. In the opinion of the director of health services, this does not indicate greater morbidity among the Jews, although he thought that the sudden change of climate and life might have caused some distress among the recent immigrants; the principal reason is the greater willingness of Jews to receive hospital treatment. They have come largely from countries where medical treatment is a routine matter, and they have not inherited the fear of hospitals which still prevails among the less educated Arabs.

There were in the same year, forty-one voluntary out-patient dispensaries, and twenty-one under government control. New cases were admitted to these clinics during 1924 to the number of 285,215. More than half of these were Jewish. Nine per cent of the treatments were for eye troubles, 2 per cent for malaria—much lower relative figures for these two classes than in neighboring countries.

At present there is no special provision for the hospitalization of tuberculous cases. In view of the prevalence of the disease, the government has arranged to have a study of a program of attack made by an expert from Great Britain. It is felt that it would be a waste of money to establish isolated activities before planning a comprehensive campaign of prevention as well as of treatment. Municipalities and charitable organizations will probably be asked to contribute to the support of the program.

The experiment of village public-health nursing has been undertaken by the Department of Health. In 1926, there were thirteen nurses, two of whom were especially assignd to school work. The opportunity which a nurse enjoys, of working actually in people's homes, makes this venture a most important one. At present it is hampered by the fact that the available nurses are all Christians, and unwilling to go to live in villages where there are no Christians.

HOSPITALS IN PALESTINE

		Number of Beds
Jerusalem		
	Government	80
	" (prison)	20
	British Ophthalmic (Order of St. John)	55
	St. Louis (French Roman Catholic)	150
	Italian	60
	Rothschild (Hadassah)	121
	English Mission (London Jews Society)	70
	Shaare Zedek (Jewish)	53
	Mizgab Ladach (Jewish)	33
	Bicur Cholim (Jewish)	42
	Leper Home (Moravian)	50
	Deaconess (German)	50
Bethlehem		
	Swedish *	36
	French	70
Hebron		
	Church Missionary Society	18
Jaffa		
	Government	35
	Hadassah	72
	Church Missionary Society	57
	French	90
	German	20
Gaza		
	Government	18
	Church Missionary Society	63
Haifa		
	Government	25
	St. Luke's (Church of England)	35
	Hadassah	56
	Italian Surgical	30
	German	25
Nablus		
	Government	25
	Church Missionary Society	40
Nazareth		
	Edinburgh Medical Mission	40
	French (Sœurs de Charité)	50
	Austrian	8
Tiberias		
	Church of Scotland	60
	Hadassah	27
	Koupat Cholim (Jewish)	13
Safad		
	Hadassah	54
Acre		
	Government	15
	" (prison)	15
Tulkarem		
	Government	20
Beersheeba		
	Government	8
	TOTAL	1,809
	Government Hospitals	*261*
	Voluntary Hospitals	*1,548*

* Reported closed, 1927.

The Hadassah Medical Organization conducts similar work in Jewish communities.

There are two insane asylums in Palestine, one of them a government and one a Jewish institution. The total capacity is inadequate, and it has been necessary to discharge patients too soon, to make room for more urgent cases. Additions to the asylums were contemplated at the time of the survey.

The number of doctors in Palestine has been increasing rapidly in recent years. At the end of 1925, there were 587 doctors. At the end of 1924, there were 481, of whom 285 were Jewish, 161 Christian, and only 35 Moslem. Unfortunately for the rural population the great proportion of the doctors are Jews, and are concentrated in the large towns. Thus Hebron, an Arab town, had one doctor to every 4,250 persons, while Tel-Aviv had one to every 264. While most of the Moslem and Christian doctors are able to make a living, there is great distress among Jewish physicians, who have been considering schemes of relief for themselves. Graduates of the Arab Faculty of Medicine in Damascus are not recognized as qualified. If the standards of that school are raised sufficiently, there may enter a considerable number of Moslem doctors.

The rapid increase in the number of doctors is paralleled in the professions of dentistry, pharmacy and midwifery, most of the newcomers being Jewish. The number of licensed midwives is far too small for the country. Until many more are trained, the superstitious practices of the ignorant "wise women" of the villages will continue to take a toll of infant lives. During 1924, nine midwives were graduated from the government hospital in Jerusalem. A second training-centre was projected for Nablus. As evidence of the eagerness for training, it is cited that application for admission to the course has to be made eighteen months in advance. The Supreme Moslem Council of Jerusalem agreed to subsidize a new ward in the government hospital in that city, where under "harem" conditions Moslem girls may be trained as midwives. This ward was opened in 1924.

Government and British mission hospitals train nurses according to the British system, while the hospitals of the Hadassah Organization follow the American system. Graduates of both these systems are granted certificates with the authority of the Director of Health. Up to August, 1926, 112 nurses had been graduated. A small number of Moslem girls were in training as nurses, in the ward just now mentioned.

Persons engaged in social work called attention to the fact that witchcraft is still taken very seriously by the uneducated, and cases are not unusual in which medical treatment and necromancy are simultaneously invoked.

Education

Palestine has in effect two large school systems, and a large number of independent schools, missionary, local religious community and private schools. The government school system is conducted for Arab children. Jewish children almost exclusively attend the schools of Jewish organizations. The largest system of Jewish schools is that of the Zionist Organization, which includes about one-half of the Jewish pupils in the country. With this, and with other Jewish schools, this report will have little direct concern; for these schools have a very definite province, within which activity by non-Jewish agencies would not be welcome, or necessary.

The following tables [15] will give a notion of the school population of the country:

I. SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, 1925

	Moslems	*Jews*	*Christians*	*Totals*
Government Schools	17,571	25	2,285	19,881
Non-Government Schools	5,635	25,895	13,353	44,883
Moslem Schools	*3,547*	*2*	*16*	*3,565*
Jewish Schools	*77*	*25,451*	*27*	*25,555*
Christian Schools	*2,011*	*442*	*13,310*	*15,763*
TOTAL	23,206	25,920	15,638	64,764

II. PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN ENROLLED IN SCHOOLS, 1924

Percentage of children aged 5 to 18 years in school	13	78	73	27
Percentage of boys in school	20	79	79	33
Percentage of girls in school	5	78	65	20

It would be safe to say that at present not more than one-eighth or one-seventh of the pupils go beyond the elementary grades.

The stated policy of the Department of Education is to promote, first of all, the elementary education of all children between the ages of seven and fourteen.

The government announced in 1920 that it was prepared to undertake the cost of maintenance of a certain number of village schools, if the villages would provide buildings. There ensued an active competition to obtain these new schools. In less than three years, 190 were established, and the number could have been largely increased if the financial situation had not compelled suspension of the program.[16]

In the year 1925–26, there were 256 village schools for boys and ten for girls, with teachers for the most part untrained. It is hoped, however, gradually to build up a staff of fully trained teachers.

In addition to these village schools, the government has forty-nine elementary schools in towns, and eight schools with secondary sec-

15 Education Department Reports.
16 *Report of the High Commissioner*, 1920–25.

tions, all for boys. Enrollment in village schools averages forty-four pupils per school; in town schools, 166. Besides maintaining regular schools, the government employs a dozen peripatetic teachers to give the rudiments of elementary instruction to the children of nomadic tribes in the southern part of the country.

Lack of qualified teachers is one of the greatest handicaps of the government schools. There is no lack of applicants for positions, as the sedentary life of a schoolmaster appeals to the Palestinian. In the summer of 1924, examinations held for prospective teachers gave disappointing results: Of 118 candidates for lower teachers' certificates, twelve passed; of twenty-eight candidates for higher certificates, only three satisfied the examiners. Two training colleges for elementary school-teachers, one for men and one for women, are conducted by the government, but they are unable to satisfy the demand. Of the 129 students in the two schools in 1925, ninety-nine were under contract to teach in government schools, in consideration of receiving free tuition. The American University of Beirut is the chief source of secondary school-teachers, but it has sometimes been necessary to appoint graduates of the government training-schools to posts in the secondary classes.

Arabic is the language of instruction in the government schools. English is taught, from the fourth year of elementary school upward. There are six elementary grades, and four years' secondary course. The Directorate of Education is strongly in favor of making the village schools adapted to the economic life of the communities. The need is keenly felt for teachers who will be genuinely in sympathy with village life, and will not tend to stimulate in their pupils a desire to become *effendis,* or what we should call "white-collar men."

The allowance of the Department of Education for 1925–26 was £Eg. 107,373, or about $540,000. The cost per pupil in the lower elementary schools in 1924 was $17—approximately the same as that in Egypt and the Sudan. The annual cost per pupil in higher elementary sections was $36, a figure slightly less than that in the non-government schools in Palestine, and about equal to that of the 'Iraq government schools. For purposes of comparison it may be observed that the cost in elementary schools in nine New England cities ranged from $63 to $96. Elementary education is free in all government schools except one, where $7.50 per year is nominally charged. Books and stationery are furnished free of charge to pupils in the village schools.

Administration of the government schools is completely centralized, except that, as mentioned, the villages in most cases provide their own school-buildings. A central advisory committee of natives was established some years ago, but died of desuetude. There is considerable sentiment in favor of more local autonomy in school

matters, which, it is argued, would stimulate more intelligent interest on the part of the natives.

Schools of all nationalities and religions are tolerated. With the exception of those failing to maintain certain minimum standards of education and hygiene, and a few denominational schools which have deliberately declined to do so, all are reported to receive per capita grants-in-aid from the government. In consideration of these grants, the schools are subject to inspection by government agents.

The principal non-government educational agencies are:

(a) *Moslem*—

The Supreme Moslem Council

(b) *Jewish*—

The Palestine Zionist Executive
The Evalina de Rothschild Schools
L'Alliance Israelite Universelle

(c) *Christian*—

The Latin Patriarchate
The Franciscan Order
Various French Catholic Orders, including the Frères des Écoles, Soeurs de Charité, Jesuits, etc.
Italian Religious Orders such as the Salesians
German Schools (Protestant and Catholic)
Greek Catholic Church
Greek Orthodox Patriarchate
Greek Orthodox Communities of Jerusalem and Jaffa
Armenian Patriarchate
Anglican Bishop (Jerusalem and the East Mission)
Church Missionary Society (C. of E.)
London Jews' Society (Christian)
United Free Church in Scotland's Mission
Christian and Missionary Alliance (American, Protestant)
American Friends Mission

In addition to the above agencies, numerous organizations conduct one or a few schools each.

Non-government Moslem schools are as yet in their infancy, with the exception of the mosque schools, which are not classed by the Department of Education as being schools at all, but which before the British occupation were the only ones attended by most Arab village children. The Moslem schools in 1925 included forty-six elementary schools with 2,504 boys and 433 girls; two elementary-secondary schools with 498 boys, and two secondary schools with 130 boys. In most of these schools the standard of teaching is regarded as indefinite and inferior. Three of them prepare students for the American University of Beirut, and thus are obliged to maintain fairly high

standards. The two schools classified as "secondary" are Islamic colleges which prepare for ecclesiastic-political offices. The small number of girl pupils may seem striking, but as a matter of fact it is encouraging that there are as many as there are; and the Moslem authorities evidently anticipate a steady growth in the proportion of girls attending.

Educational facilities for the Jewish population as a whole are far more adequate than those for the rest of the population. Practically all of the Jewish pupils are in schools of their own religion. Education is practically universal for both boys and girls among the new immigrants. Hebrew is the language of instruction in most of the schools. French is used in the schools of the Alliance Israelite; Yiddish in some of the orthodox schools, in which Hebrew is reserved exclusively for the holy scriptures. There are a number of so-called *Torah* schools, analogous to the mosque schools of the Moslems, where the instruction is almost wholly religious, and little attention is given to the general education of the pupils.

The various Christian communities in Palestine have long had schools of their own, which as a rule are of low grade. There is scarcely a sect unrepresented among the mission schools of Palestine. One gains the impression that the Protestant mission schools as a whole stress their evangelistic function more strongly than those in certain other Near East countries. And there are reasons why this should be the case. In the first place the sacred soil of Palestine tends to attract most zealous representatives of Christianity, and secondly the government school system is sufficiently adequate to make many of the missionaries feel that they may well leave the task of general academic education to the government and devote themselves more exclusively to evangelization. The Christian and Missionary Alliance (American), for example, has announced its intention to give up all its schools except those for religious workers.

The American Friends' Mission and the Christian and Missionary Alliance are the two American Protestant agencies maintaining regular schools in Palestine. The Near East Relief has conducted school work for the boys in its orphanage at Nazareth, described in a later section of this report.

The Friends' Mission is centered in Ramallah, a town a few miles north of Jerusalem. It has a boys' school and a girls' school in Ramallah town, and four elementary schools for girls in villages in Ramallah district. The boys' school is the only American secondary school in Palestine. Its policy has been to give a standard secondary education to potential "future leaders." A large percentage of the pupils that have attended since the founding of the school in 1901 have emigrated to America. The school is almost entirely supported by fees paid for tuition and boarding. The building is given rent

free by the Friends Mission, and two American missionaries stationed at the school are supported by the same society. Small donations from friends of the school are given for specific purposes. The American principal has resigned his post in favor of a Palestinian, and an attempt is being made to secure an all-Palestinian board of directors.

The principal of the school writes: "The school will need some outside assistance during this time of transition. . . . I myself have tried to study the agricultural needs of the *fellahin,* and want to devote my time to a gradual improvement of their methods, either through a small school or experimental farms in the villages of this district. That to me is the first need of the country."

The Friends' village schools enroll yearly over two hundred girls and several teachers. (Further data have been delayed or lost in transit.)

The Christian and Missionary Alliance has at present only one elementary school in Palestine itself, at Beersheeba; it has also elementary schools at Medaba and Kerak in Transjordania, with total enrollment for the three schools of fifty boys and ninety-seven girls, and seven teachers.

> Our mission has adopted a program of gradual withdrawal of support from schools with a view to stimulating native support if possible, or if not possible, to dropping this form of activity in favor of other methods of evangelism.[17]

The organization continues to conduct two schools for evangelistic workers, one for men and one for women.

British mission schools include the following:

Elementary Schools

London Jews Society: One boys' school (40 pupils) and one girls' school (130 pupils), both in Jerusalem.

Church Missionary Society: Fourteen elementary schools in Palestine, and several in Transjordania (1924). (Detailed statistics for 1926 not available.)

Secondary Schools [18]

Bishop Gobat Boys' School, Jerusalem: Founded 1853. The school is almost entirely supported by the fees paid for tuition and boarding. The buildings and English workers are provided by the Church Missionary Society.

Jerusalem Girls' College: Founded 1918. Self-supporting from pupils' fees. Rent is paid for the buildings. Two foreign workers are supported by English missions.

Jerusalem Men's College: "The English College," founded 1919. No report was received by the committee of the United Mission Conference, but

[17] From a report to the United Mission Conference, 1926.
[18] Information from the United Mission Conference, 1926.

it is their understanding that the school is practically self-supporting from fees. Three British societies, the Church Missionary Society, London Jews Society, and Jerusalem and the East Mission.

Scots College, Safad: Founded 1921. This college is financed through a committee of the United Free Church of Scotland, by voluntary contributions. Expenses of the hostel are met by fees. There has been a heavy outlay on equipment during the past years, and expenses are expected to be high for the next four or five years.

St. George's School, Jerusalem: Founded 1899. For boys. Supported by fees and grants from the Jerusalem and the East Mission.

Tabeetha Mission School for Girls, Jaffa: Data on this school have been delayed or lost in transit.

As has been seen, the proportion of pupils that continue through the secondary classes is small. The capacity of government secondary schools is small, and the policy of the Department of Education is not in favor of immediate expansion of these schools. Mission schools, on the other hand, show a tendency to want to give as much secondary education as possible.

Some Arab notables are of the opinion that secondary education was better under the Turkish régime, when the masses had only the rudimentary education offered in the mosque schools, and a few of the élite received a more thorough education than the government schools offer at present. They would prefer to have the funds of the government devoted more to secondary education. In opposition to their arguments is cited the rapidly growing class of educated young men who feel that any more arduous labor than that of a government clerk or a tourist-agent's dragoman is beneath their dignity.

In the field of higher education there is the Hebrew University of Jerusalem which was opened in the spring of 1926. It embodies previously existent departments of biology and chemistry, and a new department of Jewish archaeology. At present it is strictly an institution for advanced research, and it is stated that there is no intention of instituting an undergraduate school in the near future.

The Jerusalem Men's College, an English missionary secondary school, is reported to have plans under way for the inauguration of a course leading to the baccalaureate. Many interested persons are of the opinion that such a step would be needlessly expensive, in duplicating the equipment of the American University of Beirut, which is attended by many Palestinian students.[19]

The complaint is heard from many different sources that the greatest defect in the educational equipment of Palestine is a lack of suitable technical and vocational schools for the Arab population.

[19] The Church Missionary Society is reported (1927) to have obtained an expert from England to investigate the project.

There appears to be no such lack among the Jews, whose problems are very different and need not be discussed here in detail.

Native agriculture and industry are undeveloped. The obvious solution may seem to be the immediate establishment of a number of agricultural and technical schools; but there are certain features of the situation that demand attention, in addition to the mere provision of schools. First, the *fellah* is illiterate and impoverished. Agricultural training for him must be either unwritten, or else combined with a general elementary schooling. The prevailing system of land tenure leaves the *fellah* without capital necessary for outlay on improvements. Moreover, he is unable to borrow, having no security to offer. Secondly, young persons whose families can afford to pay for their education are not willing to become farmers. Thirdly, industrial education *per se* is of little benefit unless there is an opportunity to make use of it. While there is room for much improvement in the manual trades of the country, the possibility of restoring native handicrafts to their former importance is very doubtful, in the face of competition from European and American manufactures. The industrial possibilities of the country are limited, and are being exploited —overexploited in the opinion of some—by the Jews. There is not a great opportunity for Arabs in industries, especially without available capital.

At present there are fifteen technical schools for Jews, ranging from what we should call trade schools to a school of engineering, and including commercial courses.

There are a few trade schools for Arab children, as follows:

Agency	*Place*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Type*
Hospice St. Vincent de Paul	Jerusalem	6	44	orphanage, with blind school
St. Pierre de Sion	Jerusalem	53	0	orphanage
Schneller Orphanage	Jerusalem	203	77	orphanage, with blind school
Sisters of St. Anne	Haifa, Saffuriya	0	82	sewing
Laboratorio Italiano	Nazareth	0	45	sewing
Moslem Orphanage	Jerusalem	172	37	orphans

A technical school, to the easterner, connotes a department of an orphanage, where children learn what they might just as well learn as apprentices in the bazaars. The prospects of bringing about economic improvement of the country as a whole through such institutions is obviously small, necessary as they are for the benefit of the orphans themselves.

There are two Jewish agricultural schools; one, the Mikveh Israel school near Jaffa has been in operation for a number of years, the other is a school for girls, opened in 1926 under Zionist auspices.

The Italian Catholic Order of the Salesian Brothers runs a com-

bined orphanage and agricultural school at Bait Jamal.[20] The sixty pupils are all Christian orphans, who are not likely to have the opportunity after leaving the school to practice their knowledge except for wages on other people's lands. Some time ago, the Department of Education undertook to have day classes opened at the school for children of neighboring villages. A *shaikh* was engaged to give religious instruction; but in spite of this, the villagers were unwilling to send their children to a Christian school, and the project fell through.

The Anglican Communion conducts educational undertakings in Syria, Palestine and Cyprus. The Protestant Episcopal Church makes annual contribution amounting to $15,000 toward the maintenance of the institution of the Jerusalem and the East Mission, the active educational agency. It is also represented on the Bishop's staff by an American educational chaplain. One of his functions is to help the ancient churches of the East to train their youth for spiritual leadership. He is a member of the teaching staff of the Armenian Seminary. At the time of the survey his effort had but just begun. For related work the reader is referred to the chapter on 'Iraq. So far as can be learned, these constituted the entire work of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Syria, Palestine and 'Iraq. Inasmuch as this survey was primarily interested in American agencies, the work of the Anglican Mission is not fully described.

The government has received a bequest of about $600,000 for the furtherance of agricultural education. This has been allotted to the establishment of two agricultural schools, one for Jews and one for Arabs. At last report, the project was still under discussion, but it seemed likely that the schools would undertake to give a general secondary education, together with agricultural training. There are those who favor devoting the money rather to agricultural teaching in the established village schools, arguing, among other things, that the time has not yet come for advanced instruction, as not enough experimentation has been done on agricultural conditions in the country.

Social Conditions[21]

The family mores of Moslems and Christians in Palestine are of course radically different, while the older and the newer Jewish elements also represent very different traditions. Moreover, within any of these groups may be found standards of living ranging from

20 This school is subsidized by the Near East Relief.

21 This section of the report is manifestly less complete than the others. The difficulties in its preparation are obvious. It has been necessary to depend upon indirect and often superficial evidence; to do otherwise would be impossible without a prolonged residence in the country.

the bare existence of the peasantry to a level comparable with that of well-to-do Europeans.

Among the Moslems, the proverbially inferior status of women has not risen as much in Palestine as in some other places, but is tending inevitably to do so. As an example of the state of mind of some of the more progressive men of the country may be cited the fact that the Arab Congress (the nationalistic organization) complained of the introduction in the civil courts of a code which accepts evidence from men and women on an equal basis, whereas according to the Koran the testimony of a woman is only half as valuable as that of a man. It is impossible to give an accurate idea of the size of the average family, but the recorded birth-rate of fifty-four per 1,000 in the smaller towns and villages indicates that childbearing is women's chief function. Marriages of children, while infrequent, are permitted, and are often dictated by pecuniary considerations.

There is considerable distress among Jewish families, both old and new. The troubles of the latter have arisen from the sudden plunge into a new environment; those of the former from gradual and unspectacular impoverishment. The efforts of the various Zionistic organizations are said to be devoted exclusively to the new arrivals, while families which have been in Palestine for generations have practically no source of assistance.[22] The folkways of the old Jews give women a status hardly better than that of Moslem women. A Jewish lawyer states that "it must be admitted that the Jewish law, especially in regard to the status of women, is less progressive than the Moslem law." [23]

The tremendous infant mortality of the country speaks for itself. The Social Service Association of Jerusalem, an organization of women mainly connected with various charitable agencies, has brought about the institution of several infant-welfare centers for Arab mothers, following the practice of the Jewish infant-welfare centers which is said to be excellent. The Health Department's scheme of public-health nursing is another hopeful development. At present the training of more Moslem nurses for such work is a great need.

Few Arab women are employed in industry. In the villages, the women and children work side by side with the men in the fields. The government's committee on labor conditions reported that roughly 5,200 Arab boys and 1,500 girls, under sixteen years of age, are employed in industries and shops. "It is satisfactory to report," says the committee, "that our investigations have revealed few cases of hardship or ill use of children." [24] The government employs a trained social worker who has oversight over questions of the welfare of women and children.

22 Testimony of a leading Jewish physician in Palestine.
23 Attorney-General Bentwick of Palestine, in *Jewish Chronicle*, 16, vii. 26.
24 Unpublished report, May, 1926.

The attitude of most of the Arabs toward public affairs is one of either indifference or cynicism. A deliberate policy of non-coöperation with the government was adopted by the nationalists but seems to be yielding gradually to a disposition to make the best of the situation. Inasmuch as Arabs feel that the Balfour declaration seems to have deprived them of hope of political autonomy, it is not to be expected that they will take a very active part in the government of the country, or feel any great responsibility for the state of public affairs. It is an interesting commentary on the prevailing business ethics, that there is scarcely a single incorporated Arab concern, and partnerships are as a rule composed of brothers or close relatives.

Moral training of the young is on an explicitly religious basis. The idea of organized recreations as a means of character-building is a purely western one. There is an open field for such activity among the young boys that are not attending school. Neither the Boy Scouts nor the Y. M. C. A. is doing anything for these. Drunkenness, while said to be on the increase among the Arabs who strive to be like Europeans, is not at present a serious problem. Crimes of theft and personal violence are the prevalent forms among the Arab population. Sophisticated immigrants have imported more complex types associated with western economics. Organized prostitution is said to be relatively rare and confined to the largest towns and cities. Begging is a recognized profession. Begging by children is forbidden by law, but adult beggars are not interfered with. Indeed, to do so would deprive most of the blind and crippled of their only possible source of income.

Most of the blind are supported by their families or by begging. In the two largest institutions for the blind, the Schneller Orphanage and the Hospice of St. Vincent de Paul, there were, in 1925, about eighty inmates. The former institution receives a subsidy from the Near East Relief. Of it, Mr. Wilcox, the Education Director for the Near East Relief, writes:

> The trades in the Schneller Blind School are on a far better basis than in any of the other institutions of this kind visited by the writer. Pastor Schneller is confident that the blind *can* be trained to become self-supporting.

A small number of deaf-mute children in the Hospice of St. Vincent de Paul constitute a nucleus for a school for deaf-mutes. The Near East Relief was negotiating with the institution in the hope that it might take over some of its similarly afflicted children, and give them an education.[25] The Moslem Orphanage in Jerusalem conducts an industrial class for its blind children. A present difficulty is the lack of any place where blind adults who have learned trades can practice them.

[25] Reported accomplished, 1927.

The care of the insane has been treated under the discussion of hospitals. There are no institutions for the aged of the Arab population. Their care is a sacred duty of their families.

It has not been possible to obtain details of all the orphanages in Palestine. They are not coördinated or supervised by any one authority, and apparently no official enumeration has been made since that of the Health Department in 1923. Some of the larger institutions, and their approximate number of inmates are as follows:

* Syrian Orphanage (Schnellers—Lutheran)	Jerusalem	275
* Hospice de St. Vincent de Paul (Sœurs de Charité)	Jerusalem	250
* Salesian Brotherhood	Bethlehem	100
" "	Bait Jamal	60
" "	Nazareth	100
† Araradian (Armenian Benevolent Union)	Jerusalem	150
Moslem Orphanage (Supreme Moslem Council)	Jerusalem	200
* Near East Relief	Nazareth	170

* Receiving subsidy from Near East Relief. See report on its work in Chapter IX.
† Transferred to Beirut, fall of 1926. Near East Relief is responsible for half of these children's expenses.

Conditions do not appear to be good for outplacing many ex-inmates of orphanages in Palestine at present. Nevertheless, those who have in the past been outplaced there by the Near East Relief are reported to be doing well.

Coffee-houses—patronized, of course, exclusively by men—are the social gathering-places of the Arabs. The cinema is beginning to make its appearance, but its influence is not yet very widespread among the Arabs. Boy-scout troops are organized in connection with a large number of public schools. It is the aim of the Education Department to have the schools influence their pupils outside the classroom as well as within. The local teacher is as a rule the scoutmaster. Girl Guides have made less progress. The traditions of the people frown upon their daughters' appearing very much in public. Jewish schools have analogous organizations of their own. An Arab boy-scout organization has been formed in Jerusalem. It is reported by the British authorities as being relatively ineffectual thus far, but is as yet a new venture.

There are Y. M. C. A.'s in Jaffa and Jerusalem, and the British Y. W. C. A. has a branch in Jerusalem. The Jaffa Y. M. C. A., under the direction of a Britisher, is almost entirely locally supported. It occupies quarters which give the impression of being comfortable without being too extensive to be fully used. Land has been obtained for an athletic field. Its activities include evening classes for working men. The membership is predominantly Christian. The Jerusalem Y. M. C. A. has just begun the construction of a most remarkable building, far more elegant than anything else of the kind in this part of the world. It has been financed in America through the personal efforts of Dr. Harte, the director. An endowment has

been secured which will cover a part of the running expenses. A large budget will have to be raised annually. Features of the new building include appointments similar to those of a Y. M. C. A. in a large American city. There will be a swimming-pool, a hostel for visiting students or religious workers, a large auditorium and a large library. At present the Jerusalem Y. M. C. A. is housed in temporary quarters and is carrying on, on a much smaller scale, the usual Y. M. C. A. activities.

CHAPTER IX

SYRIA [1]

By Elbridge Sibley

Only since the close of the War has Syria been a definitely delimited nation.[2] The present territory is bounded on the north by Turkey, at a line running approximately eastward from the Gulf of Alexandretta to the Tigris River. 'Iraq is contiguous on the east, and Transjordania and Palestine on the south. Within this territory of roughly 54,000 square miles most authorities estimate that there live some 3,250,000 to 3,500,000 inhabitants. Syria has thus approximately the area of North Carolina and about one and one-sixth times its population. This estimate of population is higher than the enumeration shown by the census conducted by the French High Commission in 1922, which ascribed the following populations to the several political divisions:

State of Aleppo	392,507
State of Damascus	594,322
Sanjaq of Alexandretta	212,000
Total, now included in the *État de Syrie*	*1,198,829*
State of Greater Lebanon	628,863
Territory of the Alaouites	261,162
Djebel Druze	50,328
Total under French Mandate	2,139,182

In addition to these figures there should be included 50,000 to 100,000 Armenian refugees, and a population of 350,000 east of the Euphrates.

The religious divisions of the Syrian population, given in the following table,[3] are fundamental in any consideration of Syrian problems:

Moslems		
Sunni	1,350,000	
Shiah	243,000	1,593,000

1 Material compiled by members of the United Missionary Council of Syria.
2 Distinction must be made between the popular use of "Syria" to refer to the whole French mandated territory and its exact use to denote the smaller *état de Syrie.*
3 Kairallah: *La Syrie.*

Christians		
Roman Catholics		
Maronites	450,000	
Greek Catholics	140,000	
Syrians	15,000	
Chaldeans	6,000	
Armenians	10,000	
Latins	20,000	641,000
Eastern and Other Churches		
Greek Orthodox	200,000	
Jacobites	10,000	
Nestorians	6,000	
Gregorians	25,000	
Others	40,000 *	281,000
Other Sects		
Druzes	175,000	
Nasaiyeh	187,000	
Ismailiyeh	82,000	
Yezids	13,000	
Jews	100,000	497,000
TOTAL		3,012,000

* The number of Protestants is estimated at 15,000.

Occupationally, the populace may be divided into four classes: (1) The peasants (fellahin), living in villages or small towns, and tilling the adjacent lands. (2) The merchants. (3) The professional classes and wage-earners almost wholly confined to the cities and large towns. (4) The nomads (beduin), inhabiting the desert, where they move their tents about according to the variations of pasturage and water supply. Along the frontier of settled life beduin tribes are establishing themselves as peasants, as their numbers become too great to be supported by camel-raising, the nomads' chief occupation.

The principal cities and their estimated populations (including adjacent villages) are:

Aleppo	300,000
Damascus	250–300,000
Beirut	150–250,000
Homs	80,000
Hama	80,000
Tripoli	30–45,000
Latakiyeh	20–40,000
Antioch	20–40,000
Sidon	13–25,000

A tendency is noticeable to gravitate from the villages to the larger towns and cities, a movement which in Syria is ascribed particularly to two causes: first, the passing of the feudal system of land tenure that bound the *fellahin* to their lands, and the substitution of individual ownership; and secondly, the decadence of handcrafts which could be well carried on in small communities.

Since the political disturbances of 1860 gave it its initial impetus, emigration from Syria has proceeded at a rapid rate. By 1876, large Syrian colonies had grown up in Argentine, Brazil, Mexico, the United States, Australia, and Egypt. In 1907 it was estimated that one-fourth of the wealth of Syria belonged to Syrians residing in Egypt. Between 1900 and 1914, one-fourth of the population of the Lebanon is said to have emigrated. The number of Syrians residing abroad in 1914 was estimated at from 570,000 to 1,000,000.[4] Emigration has resumed since the Armistice, at as great if not a greater rate than before. Immigration into Syria in recent times, with the exception of the incursion of refugees from Asia Minor,[5] has been negligible.

The Syrians differ from the Arab inhabitants of neighboring lands in culture rather than in race. They are united by a common language (Arabic), and are divided by a score or more of sectarian lines. The Turkish imperial policy of "divide and rule" emphasized religious divisions: Poll taxes, for example, were levied not upon individuals, but upon the religious communities, which are virtually bodies politic.

The Turkish vilayets which compose Syria were captured by British and French forces in 1917–18, and transferred to French control under a Franco-British agreement. The whole of Syria was declared independent, under a French mandate, in 1923. French interests in Syria, and especially in the maritime regions, are of long standing. In the main, these interests have been of two kinds: cultural, represented by numerous schools and by the close relationship (abroad, though not at home), between France and the Vatican; and economic, represented by investments believed to have amounted before the War to some $40,000,000.

France has long been the semi-official protector of Roman Catholics and members of oriental churches allied with Rome; Great Britain has shown special concern for the Druzes; and Czarist Russia was the guardian of the interests of Greek Orthodox communities.

Since the French occupation, Syria has been divided into a number of "states." The protectorate of Mount Lebanon lost the privileged status which it had enjoyed under international protection since 1860, and was incorporated into the state of Greater Lebanon in 1920 and into the Lebanese Republic in 1926. The remainder of the mandated territory was divided into the states of Aleppo, Damascus, and Djebel Druze, the "autonomous sanjaq" of Alexandretta, and the territory of the Alaouites. The states of Aleppo and Damascus have since been federated in the *État de Syrie* with the latter city as its capital. The kingdom established by the Emir Faisal ibn

4 Aboussouan. *Le Problème Politique Syrien.*
5 See the section on "Refugees."

Hussein at Damascus after the expulsion of the Turks was short-lived.

Taxes are collected in Syria for the government and for the Administration de la Dette Publique Ottomane, an international commission for the protection of holders of Turkish imperial obligations. Sources of government revenues include both direct and indirect taxes. The former are imposed on improved land (about 12 per cent of rental), unimproved land (4 to 16 per cent of valuation), income, animals (about 5 to 50 cents a head), agricultural produce (12.5 per cent), and vehicles, and chauffeurs' licenses. Indirect taxes come from cadastral and notarial fees, stamp dues, and customs duties (25 per cent ad valorem on imports). The system is in general that of the former Ottoman régime. Revenues from certain taxes are allotted to the Ottoman Public Debt. The budgets of the several states of Syria are prepared under the supervision of the French High Commission. By the terms of the Mandate, the Syrian states are bound to reimburse the mandatory power for its expenditures for their improvement, but no arrangement has yet been made for such payments. The cost of the military occupation has been divided as follows in millions of francs:

	1924	*1925*
French troops	171	142
Native troops	40	40
TOTAL	211	182
French contribution	208	174.5
Syrian contribution	3	7.5
TOTAL	211	182

Civil expenses are reported by the High Commission as follows in millions of francs:

1920	185
1921	120
1922	30
1923	10
1924	9
1925	8
	362

The Syrian pound, redeemable at 20 French francs, is current in the state of Greater Lebanon. In the interior local transactions are still carried on largely in Turkish gold and silver.[6]

The criticisms raised against the mandatory system in general, and the Syrian Mandate in particular, represent a mixture of fact and fancy. Certain significant facts should be borne in mind concerning the situation of Syria. A considerable part of Syria has long been in a state of rebellion; the fluctuation of the Syrian currency with that of the French franc has helped to create economic distress;

6 £T. (gold) 1 = about $4.40; 1 majidi (silver) = about $ .35.

official statistics indicate a greater rate of emigration than ever before; and the administrative policies of the mandatory power have been changeable and sometimes unsatisfactory to the people.

On the other hand, it may be pointed out in extenuation of the mishaps of the French régime, that the mandatory system is still in the experimental stage; that the Syrians are divided among themselves, and are without experience in self-government; and that large parts of the country were prejudiced at the outset against a French mandate. The prevailing atmosphere in Syria is one of pessimism and discontent. The War left the country impoverished, and liberation from Turkey failed to usher in the millennium promised by overhopeful propagandists.

Economic Conditions [7]

Syria is fundamentally an agricultural and pastoral country. The present decadence of agriculture is one of its chief woes. Wanton deforestation has caused the soil to deteriorate, and social factors have further impaired the country's food production. While Syria is not fitted for extensive industrialization, certain industries, which will be mentioned later, may make valuable although limited contributions. There are, so far as is known, practically no mineral deposits of commercial value. Forests are almost non-existent. Fisheries yield little at present.

Well over one-half of the settled population is engaged in agriculture; yet farming is still carried on in the manner of biblical times. Perhaps a quarter, or 10,000,000 acres, of the area of Syria is capable of cultivation. The coastal plain is a narrow strip of alluvial soil, in few places more than four or five miles wide and often less. The subtropical climate and the inherent fertility of this soil are favorable for such crops as cotton, silk, citrus fruits, and olives. Along the maritime ranges, once famous for their forests but now largely denuded of trees, scanty crops of fruit, tobacco and cereals are grown on narrow terraces. The central depression, east of the maritime mountains, is a long fertile valley, drained by the rivers Orontes and Litany. The valley is in some places narrow, in others —as near Antioch, and near Homs—many miles in width. The central plain has a less tropical climate than the coastal plain; in winter the temperature is low and there is generally some snow. Similar agricultural conditions are found in the Euphrates valley and in the valley of the Nahr Barada near Damascus. East of the central depression is an arid plateau extending as far as the Euphrates valley or, farther south, to the Syrian Desert. The Djebel Druze ("Mountain of the Druzes") in the extreme southeastern part of Syria is a fertile, hilly region.

[7] Material compiled by members of the United Missionary Council.

Rainfall is confined to the winter months. The yearly precipitation diminishes as one goes east from the coast, being about thirty-six inches in Beirut, ten inches in Damascus, six or eight inches in the eastern plateau. The absence of any rainfall during the summer necessitates irrigation for many crops. The paucity of irrigation developments restricts the area now under cultivation to much less than it might be with a sufficient capital outlay. The High Commission [8] estimates that the present irrigated area of about 225,000 acres could easily be trebled.

The prevailing system of land tenure [9] is to a considerable degree responsible for agricultural backwardness. Twenty years ago only between 20 per cent and 30 per cent of the farm land in Syria was owned by individual farmers, the rest being held by absentee landlords or religious communities, and to this day, a great proportion of the land is held under this quasi-feudal system. Especially in the Lebanon, however, there has been a tendency of late toward individual ownership. And one of the most wholesome phases of the Syrian nationalist revolt is its breaking down of the feudal system of land tenure.

Cereal culture by dry-farming methods of a primitive sort is most extensively practised. After the harvest, the grain fields are used for pasturage. The olive and the grape, and where irrigation is possible, miscellaneous other fruits, are grown. Mulberry trees are common in the Lebanon mountains and along the coast. Hemp, for fibre—and, unfortunately, for hasheesh—is fairly extensively raised on irrigated land near Damascus. Tobacco and cotton, unirrigated crops, center respectively about Latakiyeh and Idlib.

Underpopulation of many arable regions, coupled with extremely primitive methods of cultivation, keeps production far below the desirable volume. The venerable wooden plow—adapted, it is true, to working rocky mountain sides—is still used everywhere. Grain is cut with a hand sickle; even the scythe is apparently unknown. No adequate measures—neither the use of artificial fertilizers nor the intelligent diversification and rotation of crops—are taken to restore the vigor of the soil, which must consequently lie fallow a good part of the time.

The chief agricultural products of the various areas have been mentioned. Reliable statistics have not been obtainable, but it may be mentioned that although wheat is the chief field crop, occupying over half of the total field area, Syria annually imports wheat in considerable quantities.

It has been demonstrated that the simple expedient of fencing tracts of mountain land, to exclude goats and wood-choppers, will

[8] *La Valeur de la Syrie.* Beyrouth. 1925.

[9] See the treatment of this subject in the reports on Palestine and 'Iraq, where substantially the same system is in vogue.

result in reforestation. By thus protecting considerable areas, and if necessary planting trees, land which is now virtually worthless could be made a tremendous asset.

The preparation of raw silk is the leading industry. It centers in the Lebanon, and is carried on to a lesser extent in the Alaouite Territory and Alexandretta district. Before the War, production reached about 6,500,000 kg. (8,125 tons); at present (1926) the rate of production is about one-third as great. Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo are centers of a once flourishing but now depressed textile industry—note the name "damask". The loss of the Egyptian and Turkish markets has been a severe blow. Cigarettes, almost wholly for local consumption, are made of tobacco grown in Lebanon. The well-known Latakia tobacco is exported in the raw state. About 7,000 tons of olive oil, and 3,000 tons of olive oil soap are produced annually, mostly in the Lebanon. Wine, raisins, and grape molasses; dried apricots, apricot paste, and candied fruits are by-products of the vineyards of Lebanon and Damascus. Fruit-preserving and canning appear not to have had the exploitation they deserve. Sheep and goats are raised in large numbers in the interior. Aleppo and Damascus carry on a large trade in wool, goats' hair, and leather and its products. Some 500,000 hides are said to be used yearly by factories in these two cities.

The further development of industry on a modern basis is hindered by lack of fuel and of capital. The very tentatively projected oil pipe line from the fields of Mesopotamia and Persia to the Mediterranean coast may possibly alter the outlook. Damascus receives electric power from the Nahr (River) Barada, Zahleh from the Nahr Bordoni. One expert estimates[10] that Nahr Ibrahim (a river north of Beirut) would furnish 61,000 h.p., and a few other rivers from 6,000 to 500 h.p. each. At present only those industries are practicable, in which the fuel item is relatively small.

There is a wealthy class in Syria, but their wealth is often tied up in land, and those who have money to invest show a preference for investments in other countries where conditions are more stable and immediate returns are larger.

A scarcity of capable laborers has been brought about by the War and the emigration of many young men.[11] This, however, is a condition which might correct itself if there were actual opportunities for industrial workers in Syria.

Syria presents the anomaly of up-to-date standards of consumption and antiquated production. A large number of commodities might be listed, in which Syrians, especially Lebanese, prefer to import European or American styles, although they produce or could

10 Edmond Bechara, *Les Industries en Syrie et au Liban.*

11 The influx of Armenian refugees has provided a supply of labor, but the reluctance of Syrians to mingle with Armenians is a handicap to their employment.

produce them. A few such are breadstuffs, clothing, soap, leather goods, preserved fruits, and vegetables.

Almost every conceivable means of transportation, excepting subway trains, is in practical use in Syria. The camel and donkey compete with the railroads in carrying freight in the settled districts; and in the open country they still reign supreme. The automobile is widely used. Road-building has been an outstanding constructive work of the French administration. The journey from Damascus or Beirut to Jerusalem has been reduced from several days to a few hours.

Railway lines in Syria are:

1. The Baghdad Railway
   (a) Main line, Constantinople—Aleppo—Nissibin.
   (b) Alexandretta to the main line.

2. Chemins de fer de Damas, Hama, et Prolonguements
   (a) Damascus—Beirut (narrow gauge).
   (b) Aleppo-Hama-Homs-Ryak (connecting for Beirut and Damascus).
   (c) Homs-Tripoli.

3. Hejaz Railway (narrow gauge)
   (a) Main line, Damascus-Dera'a-Medina (the pilgrimage route to Mecca).
   (b) Dera'a-Haifa.

4. Tramways Libanais
   Beirut-Antilyas-Maameltein (narrow gauge suburban line).

The importance of Syria as a country of transit between Orient and Occident, great since ancient times, has recently been increased by the development of the desert motor-route to Baghdad, now the quickest route between 'Iraq, Persia and India, and the West.

Beirut has the only sheltered harbor on the Syrian coast which can accommodate ocean vessels. Tripoli, Latakiyeh and Alexandretta have roadsteads where steamships are able to transfer passengers and cargo except in very stormy weather. Most local coastwise shipping is done by small sailing vessels.

The two outstanding characteristics of Syrian foreign trade are first, the defective organization and lack of modern marketing facilities, particularly in connection with the export trade; and secondly, the large adverse balance of trade—the preponderance of import business over export, and over local exchange. Official statistics for foreign trade are as follows:[12]

[12] *Bulletin Economique, édité par le Haut Commissariat Français,* janvier, 1926. *Rapport sur la Situation de la Syrie.* (Compare trade balances given in the reports on 'Iraq and Palestine.)

	IMPORTS (*Francs*)	EXPORTS (*Francs*)
1921	600,000,000	69,000,000
1924	797,000,000	340,000,000
1925	975,000,000	450,000,000

The total exports given above include re-exports of goods in transit from other countries:

	(*Francs*)
1924	98,500,000
1925	146,650,000

(In reading the above figures it must be observed that the franc fell from an exchange value around 7.5 cents in 1923 to 3.5 cents in 1926.)

Regarding the adverse balance in trade as apparent rather than real, the High Commission writes:[13]

> Comme toujours, que l'on se reporte à l'avant-guerre ou à la période actuelle, la balance commerciale des pays sous mandat est déficitaire, mais va sans cesse en s'améliorant. Il est, d'autre part, certain qu'en 1925, comme en 1923 et 1924, la balance des paiements, la balance invisible, celle qui importe dans la réalité, s'est normalement effectuée, sans que les pays de Syrie aient eu à faire appel à leurs réserves en or ou en valeurs.

Among the "invisible exports" of Syria, the main items are remittances from emigrated Syrians to their families and relations; expenditures of travelers and foreign residents; expenditures of foreign missionary and philanthropic bodies, and expenditures by the French government.[14]

The larger business concerns—banking, mercantile, transport, industrial, and public utility—are operated by foreign management, on foreign capital. The typical native undertaking is conducted by a sole proprietor with his own capital. There are no native business corporations.

Health[15]

A serious handicap to the development of Syria is the prevalence of diseases that deplete the vigor of great numbers of people. Both medical and sanitary measures are needed. The outlook for ameliorative work by the government or by local agencies is, for the time being, not hopeful. Funds which ought to be available for routine public health work or for outlays on permanent projects have had to be diverted of late to emergency relief for the hungry and homeless.

Vital statistics are to all intents and purposes non-existent. A somewhat facetious but not wholly unsignificant response was made a number of years ago to an official request for such figures. To the

13 *Bulletin Economique, loc. cit.*

14 See page 233. These expenditures are largely subject to repayment under the terms of the Mandate.

15 This section was compiled with the help of local physicians.

question, "What is the death-rate in your city?", the answer was, "For Damascus, it is Allah's will that all shall die; some die old, some young."

The principal endemic diseases of the country are of four classes: enteric conditions—dysenteries, typhoid; malaria; tuberculosis; and ophthalmic conditions, especially trachoma.

The dysenteries and typhoid fever are naturally most common where the water supply is bad, and unfortunately this gives a wide distribution. A notable decrease took place in Beirut after the inauguration of the new water supply.

Malaria is endemic in all regions where there is standing water. Thus its incidence is heaviest on the plains and relatively slight in the mountain villages. Naturally, too, it attacks the poor and ignorant more than the well-to-do. One authority estimates that in Damascus a third of the population; in the neighboring villages, two-thirds, have had the disease. Indigenous residents of malarial districts seem to acquire a partial immunity, and to suffer milder forms of the disease, which, however, impair their health, though not completely incapacitating them. New arrivals, on the other hand, often contract more acute forms. The Armenian refugee camp at Alexandretta has been a focus for the spread of an especially virulent form of malaria to other places where Armenian refugees are found.

The tuberculosis problem is of growing importance, a marked increase in incidence having been observed during the last three or four decades. Reasons assigned for the increase include the condition of famine and poverty which has resulted from the War; the immigration of refugees of poor classes, and "advanced civilization," especially the use of glazed windows which impair the ventilation of houses.

The following paragraph from a Beirut doctor gives an idea of the lack of enlightenment with which the disease is still regarded by many:

> Perhaps to fear a disease is a good thing, because it may lead one to try and avoid it; but . . . such fear may be causative of much harm. And this is the case in the East today. The infant, the most susceptible individual to tuberculosis, is not protected from infection. It is allowed to mix and come in contact with "chronic coughers," whose cough is attributed to everything else but tuberculosis; what is really feared is the name of the disease. People are afraid to visit a tuberculosis institution, or to pass near by one. A patient known or suspected to be tubercular is deserted by everybody and no one dares go to his house.

Trachoma, endemic throughout the Near East, has been aggravated among the poorer classes, and particularly among the refugees who have lived under grossly unhygienic conditions during the years since the War. The improvement of sanitary conditions is somewhat lessening the incidence of this disease. Other ophthalmic diseases

are common, principally on account of ignorance and uncleanliness. Gonococcic infection of the eyes of infants, and conjunctivitis are frequently encountered.

A gradual improvement of quarantine and sanitary measures is diminishing the ravages of imported epidemics. There were epidemics of typhus and relapsing fever during the War (1916–19). Small epidemics of measles, whooping cough, mumps, influenza, and sand-fly fever are frequent. The mortality from measles is often high. Epidemic encephalitis threatened to become widespread a few years ago, but seems to have stopped.

While they cannot be regarded as at all indicative of the total numbers of deaths, the following figures may give some idea of the relative importance of various diseases.[16]

	Per cent of all deaths
Enteric diseases	32
Respiratory diseases	25
Heart diseases	7
Senility	6
Tuberculosis	5
Premature childbirths	5
Malarial fever or cachexy	5
All others	15
	100

Health organizations are maintained by the governments of the several states under the French Mandate, and in the larger cities there are municipal health authorities. General supervision is exercised by a medical officer attached to the High Commission. A government physician is assigned to each kaza (there are seventeen such physicians in the Grand Liban). The local government physician is as a rule a private practitioner, subsidized at a low rate for giving free service to the poor.

The three major projects contemplated by the health service of the High Commission are as follows:[17]

(a) The transfer of the Armenian refugee camp in Beirut from its present unsanitary quarters on the water-front to new buildings to be erected on higher ground and provided with proper sanitation.

(b) The improvement of the quarantine service on the eastern frontier.

(c) An anti-malarial campaign. Regional committees had been appointed in 1926 to study and report a plan for a general campaign.

At the present time, the governmental health organization is accomplishing little along the lines of water and food protection, the prevention of malaria, tuberculosis and venereal disease, infant and child welfare, and general education in hygiene. Lack of funds is

[16] *Report of the Ministry of Health for the State of Syria*, 1924.

[17] Interview with Dr. F. Duguet, chef des Services Saintaires de L'Armée Française du Levant.

the reason assigned for backwardness in these respects. Health education is difficult in an illiterate population; and it is obviously the illiterate who are most in need of such instruction. The possibilities of spreading non-written hygienic propaganda have scarcely been explored. The church has not been exploited as a channel for spreading health propaganda. Posters and literature have not been widely issued—their efficacy would not be expected to equal that of the cinema. Health instruction in the schools might be considerably extended and improved.

Non-government public-health agencies working in Syria include the International Red Cross and the Syrian Anti-Tuberculosis Association. The former is concerned particularly with the welfare of refugees; the latter has been the only local health organization which has maintained continuously a comprehensive program, its activities, however, being limited by its small budget. The American Red Cross rendered a great deal of medical and other assistance both before and during the War, but ceased its activities shortly after the end of hostilities. Its records have been taken over by the "American Emergency Relief Committee" which stands ready to report any emergency that demands outside assistance, but has no funds or machinery for conducting any work of its own.

On the whole, a slight improvement in sanitary conditions seems to have been noticed since the War; but the improvement is relative to almost unbelievably bad conditions. Beirut is the only place in all Syria which has an adequate filtered water supply. The supply of Damascus has been improved in late years with an accompanying improvement in the public health; but many residents still persist in using contaminated water. Official supervision of food supplies is not exacting or strictly enforced, and the manner of marketing vegetables and meat offers a good opportunity for contact infection. Green vegetables, eaten raw, are carriers of considerable infection, as a result of the practice of fertilizing the land with the contents of latrines, and with garbage. The anopheles mosquito, the bearer of malaria, prevails wherever there is standing water. Another variety of mosquito (Myetes Egypticus) is the carrier of dengue, a relatively innocuous fever which occurs in epidemics. Common house flies, fleas, bugs, lice, and their relatives abound wherever cleanliness is not a habit. The sand flea is prevalent throughout Syria, and its bite is thought to be responsible for a common fever that is painful but not dangerous.

Housing is, on the whole, considered satisfactory, but exception must be made of the crowded quarters of cities and refugee camps, where thousands of people are living in unbelievably small quarters, insufficiently lighted and ventilated, the scene always set for the rapid spread of infection. During the latter days of the Turkish

régime some of the worst congested sections of Beirut were somewhat relieved by cutting wide streets.

Isolation of certain diseases is enforced when they are discovered, but popular opposition to quarantine measures has not been wholly unjustified, for the places set aside for isolation of contagious diseases have been described as "ante-chambers of Death."

The French system of licensed prostitution, with obligatory medical inspection, is nominally enforced. The special government hospital in Beirut for prostitutes, with a capacity of 115 beds, received 544 cases during 1924. In Damascus, where in 1924 there were 485 registered prostitutes, the special anti-venereal hospital, reserved for prostitutes, admitted 1,124 cases.

In general there seem to be too few hospitals with too small a capacity for the country as a whole; too many physicians in the large centers and almost none in country villages; too many "practical dentists" and too few qualified ones; an almost complete dearth, outside a few cities, of trained midwives and trained nurses. Pharmacists, many of them, however, without formal training, seem to be sufficiently numerous.

Progress in building and using hospitals was first imposed upon the country from outside. Reluctance on the part of most people to enter a hospital has hindered the spontaneous growth of locally organized institutions. However, a change for the better is coming gradually.

There is great variation from place to place in the ratio of hospital beds to population. In the whole state of Syria there were, in 1925, only about 1,000 beds, a ratio of 1,500 persons to a bed, as compared with a ratio of 420 for Palestine and 2,300 for 'Iraq. The hospitals in Beirut are the most advanced and have the largest number of beds. Most of the other hospital beds in the country are divided between the two other large cities of Damascus and Aleppo, while hospitals in the smaller towns amount to little more than hostels in which the indigent may sleep and the seriously ill may spend their last days.

American hospitals in Syria are the American University Hospital in Beirut, and the Kennedy Memorial Hospital in Tripoli. The former is an extensive and splendidly equipped adjunct of the American University, with 184 beds. The latter is a Presbyterian Board institution with a capacity of about sixty, conducted by one American doctor.

Syria has three medical schools—the American and French schools in Beirut and the Arab school in Damascus. The first two are conducted on western standards and are well known for the quality of their work.

The American University School of Medicine antedates the other

two. Since its foundation, in 1867, it has granted over 750 degrees. Its standards conform to those of schools in the United States. Naturally, English-speaking physicians are more in demand in the neighboring English-speaking countries than they are in Syria. Palestine, Egypt and the Sudan attract a large proportion of the graduates. The number of students during 1925–26 was ninety-two. The Faculté Française de Médecine of l'Université St. Joseph, which embraces medicine, dentistry and midwifery, has about twice as great an enrollment as the American school. A larger proportion of its graduates remain in Syria, where ability to speak French is an asset. The Faculté Arabe de Médecine, a government institution in Damascus, is the successor of a Turkish institution. The school differs from the two others in that its instruction is given almost exclusively in Arabic. The standards of the school are much lower than those of either school in Beirut. Financial assistance has been refused this school by the Rockefeller Foundation. During the year 1925–26, there were about 120 students, including a few Christian girls; this year (1926–27) a few Moslem girls are also expected to enter.

Schools of dentistry and of pharmacy are attached to each of the three medical schools. The French and Arabic faculties of medicine offer training in midwifery. The first class, of nine members, was graduated from the Ecole des Sages Femmes in Beirut in 1924, receiving the *Diplôme de l'Etat Française*. In 1925–26, six midwives were in training at the Damascus institution. The lack of a maternity ward at the latter place is a handicap to training, as well as a misfortune to the mothers of the city.

Nurses in Syria are trained, for the most part, in the school of experience. Many hospitals receive girls as apprentices to assist in routine work, and they gain experience casually, as it happens to come along. Some of the better hospitals, especially those conducted by foreign agencies, admit definite classes of pupils. They receive little training, however, other than through the practical work which is required of them. The American University alone conducts a training-school along American lines. The course includes instruction in sciences, as well as practical experience. The school had an enrollment of forty-one in 1925–26. Graduates of the school are in great demand as head nurses in hospitals, in which capacity many go to Egypt and Palestine. A number have recently entered private nursing in the vicinity of Beirut; elsewhere in Syria this profession is practically non-existent. Armenian girls preponderate in the school, and there are also many Jewesses, but unfortunately very few Syrian girls of suitable type are willing to become nurses.

A few years ago, the American Red Cross financed a demonstration of public-health nursing work in Beirut. With the stop-

page of funds from the Red Cross, the work ceased, and no local agency could be found to continue it, although the value was well demonstrated. It is an undertaking well worthy of a new beginning.

Education [18]

There is no one educational system in Syria—not even a dominant system. The all-pervasive influence of the politico-religious divisions is quite as strong in educational matters as in other spheres of life. Each sect has its own schools. Curricula, management, spirit, could hardly be more diversified. The foreign systems are not coördinated either with each other or with the native organizations. The list of foreign schools is long, out of all proportion to the results attained.

There are three general groups of systems, according to the type of education offered:

I. Southern European type.
- A. Government schools.
- B. French Catholic schools.
  1. Jesuits.
  2. Frères.
  3. Sisters of Charity.
- C. Italian Catholic schools.
- D. French Laïque schools.
- E. Jewish (Alliance Israélite).
- F. Native Systems modeled after the Southern European type.
  1. Greek Catholic.
  2. Maronite.
  3. Greek Orthodox.

II. Northern European type.
- A. Danish (Danish Mission to the Orient).
- B. British.
  1. British Syrian Mission.
  2. Friends' Foreign Missionary Association.
  3. Irish Reformed Presbyterian Mission.
  4. Irish Presbyterian Mission.
- C. American.
  1. American University of Beirut.
  2. Presbyterian Mission.
  3. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
  4. Reformed Presbyterian Mission.
  5. American School for Girls (Damascus).
  6. Near East Relief.

[18] This section is an abridgment of a report prepared for the Near East Survey by a committee of the United Missionary Council of Syria. In a few instances, the author or the editor has altered the text to agree with personal observations somewhat at variance with the Committee's report.

D. Native schools modeled after the Northern European type.
   1. Protestant.
   2. Greek Orthodox.
   3. Private.

III. Arab type
   A. Old type (mosque school).
   B. New type.

The rate of school-attendance for the country as a whole is officially estimated at 11 per cent, a figure that is probably too large rather than too small. It would probably run as high as 25 per cent in some places and correspondingly lower elsewhere.

The dependence of all except a few government schools on fees received from the pupils leads to the exclusion of a large part of the children of the country through their inability to pay; and gives rise to real uncertainty as to how long some of the schools that are dependent on fees will endure.

That a government which has recently entered a country and has not yet fully established its authority should have much to show of educational accomplishment, is not to be expected. Government publications set forth excellent plans for educational development, but these plans have not been extensively carried out. The number of pupils in government schools is stated at 35,847. Most of these are Moslems.

Some schools formerly controlled by local religious communities or societies have been taken over by the government. In the elementary schools, no fees are charged, the pupils' only expenses being for books. Equipment is usually poor and buildings overcrowded. Competent teachers are not always to be had. All teachers are nominally required to be proficient in both French and Arabic, but the requirement is not strictly enforced. Both languages are taught, in varying proportions. In many villages the government school is said to be patronized only by those who cannot afford to pay tuition fees.

In the Republic of Greater Lebanon, the public educational system is more fully organized than elsewhere in Syria. In 1925 a normal school for boys and one for girls were established. Preparation is given for a "certificat d'études primaires élémentaires" or a "certificat d'études primaires supérieures." The plan for standardized official examinations for teachers may accomplish something toward the coördination of the numerous types of schools.

The University at Damascus is the government's only institution of higher learning. It comprises schools of medicine and of law and an "Arab academy" which is rather a literary institute than a school. The standards of faculties of medicine and law are low.[19]

[19] See the section on "Health," regarding the School of Medicine.

Vocational education is represented by a free trade school in Beirut and a small agricultural school at Salamiyeh in central Syria. In the Beirut school the trades taught are carpentry, pattern-making, foundry work, repairing, machinery, welding, electrical work, automobile mechanics and weaving. The course occupies four years. Tuition and board are free to those qualifying in an examination, and some financial aid is given needy pupils. Enrollment is limited to eighty, about two-thirds the capacity of the plant—in order that all graduates may be guaranteed employment. Many pupils expect to enter government services. The agricultural school at Salamiyeh was founded by the Ottoman administration with money exacted from the people of the district as a penalty. There are also agricultural schools for orphans in one or two places in the north, which, however, are said not to be sufficiently developed to make a large contribution. It is also reported that agricultural and industrial schools may be opened in other places.

Outside the government system there are a considerable number of schools, both foreign and native, which in their methods are somewhat like those of France. A certain point of view is common to all these systems: the French educator and the French-trained educator frankly attempt to carry the student into a Gallic world, to make him use the French language as intimately as his own, and to immerse him in an atmosphere of French culture. They generally achieve this end.

The French schools, generally speaking, offer elementary and secondary education in the same institution. The curriculum of boys' schools corresponds roughly to the French lycée, the pupils entering at an age of about seven, and staying ten years. The girls receive a less formal academic training, a large part of their time being given to music and needlework.

The schools of the religious orders often include a "free school," and a "collège" in which tuition is charged and the grade of teaching is better. Much attention is paid to religious teaching which, however, is often optional with pupils of other sects. Foreign schools of this type are subsidized, apparently not in accordance with any uniform principle of apportionment, by the Syrian governments.

Jesuit schools are the most numerous and best organized of the Southern European group. In 1925 this system comprised 138 schools with 8,642 pupils, in addition to the University of St. Joseph, in Beirut. The primary schools, which admit boys and girls, are situated in groups, in the villages surrounding a dozen large towns. The University of St. Joseph is the largest Jesuit institution in Syria. It is of approximately the size of the American University in the same city. Women are not admitted. Enrollment in 1925 was:

Preparatory Department	60
"Collège"	739
Theology	15
Law	136
Engineering	30
Medicine [20] (including dentistry, pharmacy and midwifery)	189
	1,169

The French language exclusively is used as the medium of instruction.

The Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes have nine schools in Syria. Three, in Beirut, have a total enrollment of 1,500. One of these, the Ecole de la Salle, with over 1,000 pupils, claims to be the largest secondary school in the Near East. Most of the pupils are Christians. The Soeurs de Charité de St. Vincent de Paul maintain schools with 700 pupils in Beirut and 500 in Tripoli. Most of the pupils are Christians. Most of the teachers are nuns. The teaching, which is in French, is of an elementary grade. There is no set course, pupils staying as long as circumstances or inclinations permit. Arabic is taught through the first two years only.

Schools of Italian Catholic orders, far less numerous than the French, are located in a few places in northern Syria. Their general plan and methods are similar to those of the French.

La Mission Laïque Française has schools in Aleppo, Beirut and Damascus. About half of the pupils in the Beirut schools are Moslems. This contrasts with the French religious schools, whose pupils are mainly Christians. The French curriculum is followed except that no religious instruction is given.

L'Alliance Israélite Universelle is a French Jewish organization for the benefit of Jews in the Orient. It has eleven schools in Syria, with a total of about 2,500 pupils.

Greek Catholic schools include the Collège Patriarchal, a secondary school founded in 1854 (in Beirut) and one of the oldest secondary schools in Syria, and a number of elementary schools in each of the twelve dioceses in Syria.

The various Maronite communities have schools, of which the most important is l'Ecole de la Sagesse, In Beirut.

Greek Orthodox schools in Beirut are conducted by a voluntary society. They had, in 1925–26, a total of 1,200 pupils, three times the enrollment in 1923–24. A good part of the increase is due to taking over some Russian schools which were bankrupt in 1924. Tuition ranges up to $20 per year. Last year the High Commission allowed a subsidy of £ Syr. 3,600 ($2,000) in addition to the salaries of two French teachers.

[20] See the section on "Health."

The Greek Orthodox Bishop of the Lebanon has charge of thirty-two schools, with an enrollment of 1,500, of which twenty-seven are village schools for both boys and girls. There are three secondary schools for boys. In two of these English is stressed, in one, French. One secondary school prepares boys to enter the sub-freshman class of the American University of Beirut. Tuition in the secondary schools ranges from $9 to $13 per year. The Greek Orthodox church is financially handicapped and its schools suffer accordingly. The other Greek Orthodox dioceses in Syria also maintain schools.

While most of the foreign schools of the northern European type carry students to a high standard of English, in order to open to them the resources of English literature, history, and science, English is not purposely made the natural language of any Syrian. A second distinctive feature of these schools is the greater degree of self-dependence imposed upon the pupils. In other systems, little or no opportunity is left the pupil to do wrong; the Anglo-Saxon system allows him a choice and holds him responsible.

The Danish Mission to the Orient has adopted as its field the region north of Damascus, centering its operations in Nebk and Deir 'Atiyeh. The region is not thickly settled, and the area occupied is small. The mission has four schools: one for boys and girls in Nebk and in Hafar, and one for girls in Yabrud and one for girls in Deir 'Atiyeh. French is taught in all of these schools. No payments worth mentioning are received from the pupils. The total number of boys is about 250, of girls 160.

The British Syrian Mission has the following schools:

(1) 1 kindergarten, 2 elementary schools, 1 high school, 1 teachers' training college for girls—all in Beirut.

(2) Primary schools in Damascus, Tyre, Ain Zahalta and Hasbaya; 7 village schools near Ain Zahalta and Hasbaya.

(3) Blind school and weaving school in Beirut. (Described in section on "Social Conditions.")

The most important is the Training College (for girls) founded in 1860. It is located in the same compound with kindergarten, elementary and high schools, thus affording opportunities for practical teaching experience for the girls in the training department. The curriculum of the combined schools covers twelve years: lower and upper infant, seven standard, and three college classes. The language of the school is English. There are 180 pupils. The time of the students in the last three years is devoted largely to practical and theoretical instruction in teaching, but enough academic work is given to enable graduates to enter the American Junior colleges for girls. Most of the funds of the school come from fees which range

from about $2.20 per year in the practice school to $80 in the college classes.

Most of the graduates become teachers. Of the eighty-eight graduates between 1908 and 1924, forty-two were teaching in 1925, while at least thirty more had taught at some time. The standard of teaching in the British Syrian Mission schools outside Beirut is higher than that in other similar schools, for all their teachers are graduates of the Training College.

The British Friends' Mission, though occupying a small territory, has several schools of considerable importance. In Brummana there is a coeducational high school—a unique experiment in a Moslem country. It must be remembered that the school is situated in a Christian village and one near enough Beirut to have become relatively accustomed to foreign manners. The entrance of some Moslem and Jewish boys from 'Iraq seems, however, to have made no difference. This school has seventy-five boys and twenty-five girls, of whom four-fifths are Christians. The curriculum prepares for entrance to the American University of Beirut.

Also in Brummana the mission has a vocational school for girls, started as a relief measure in 1919, when it gave paid employment to a number of young women. From the outset it was the intention to make it a school and not merely a workshop. At present there are sixty pupils, who get a certain amount of academic training during one-half the time spent in school; and are taught embroidery the rest of the time. The experience of this school has shown that the difficulties in trades education lie not in the provision of facilities but in the Syrian ideals of education. It has been found desirable to change the name of the school from "Trades School" to "Girls' School." Classes in plain needlework and dressmaking were unpopular from the first.

In Ras el-Metn the same mission has an orphanage for boys, and, in connection with it, a coeducational school mainly primary, with some secondary work, with about 100 boys and thirty girls. There are small schools in Bait Meri and Nebay, with a total of thirty-five to forty-five pupils.

The Irish Reformed Presbyterian Mission has a number of schools at Alexandretta. The Committee was unable to get details, but understands that the schools are chiefly of elementary grade.

The Irish Presbyterian Mission has a boys' school and a girls' school in Damascus. The latter is for Jewesses only.

The American University of Beirut, founded in 1866 as the Syrian Protestant College by the American Mission in Syria (Presbyterian), is now independently incorporated. It is virtually the center of American educational work in Syria. In 1925–26 there were 1,183

students, of whom 409 were in the Preparatory School, and the rest were divided as follows:

Arts and Sciences	545
Medicine	92
Pharmacy	44
Dentistry	52
Nursing	41
	774

Incorporated under the laws of New York State, the University maintains the standards set by the State Board of Regents. The curriculum is modified as far as possible to suit the needs of the students, but such modifications are limited in scope by the Regents' requirements.

The preparatory school, for boys, embraces a higher elementary and secondary course in preparation for entrance to the college; but by no means all students go on to college.

The college of arts and sciences, which in 1925 absorbed the school of commerce, offers the usual curriculum. The course in medicine was lengthened in 1925 from four to five years. Its standards have been raised from time to time, in accord with the policy of offering an example of the best American standards, rather than seeking a large enrollment. The dentistry and pharmacy courses occupy four and three years respectively. The school of nursing is without doubt the best between the Bosphorus and the Nile. The course is three years in duration. A certain amount of secondary education is requisite for entrance, and secondary school graduates receive preference.

Women are admitted to the higher classes of the college and to the graduate schools. Few are enrolled, however, and it is expected that the American Junior College for Women (see the Presbyterian Mission) will open with freshman and sophomore classes in the fall of 1927. This, it is felt, will be preferable to making the collegiate branch of the University coeducational. The relationship between the University and the Women's College has been under discussion, in the hope of working out a desirable scheme of coöperation.[21]

One serious problem with which the University is faced is the tendency of young men to attend just long enough to acquire fluency in English and a smattering of "culture," whereupon they emigrate. Figures are not available to show how many former students have emigrated from Syria, but the number is believed to be large. On the other hand, many graduates leave Syria for Palestine, Egypt or 'Iraq and the Sudan, so that the University at Beirut is becoming a center of influence over a large part of the Arab world. The American University of Beirut will share in the proceeds of the

[21] Arrangement reported accomplished, May, 1927.

forthcoming endowment campaign of the Association of Near East Colleges.[22]

The American Presbyterian Mission is the largest Protestant missionary body in Syria. Statistics of its schools are as follows:

	1921	*1924*
Total schools	83	65
Total pupils	3,392	3,031
Total teachers	144	130
Income from schools		$75,423

The elementary schools of the Mission number about seventy. These include three classes: (a) those practically self-supporting, but subject to supervision by the Mission, the active management being in the hands of a local committee; (b) those similarly managed and supervised but receiving a grant-in-aid from the Mission; (c) a relatively small number controlled directly by the Mission. Thus, although a uniform curriculum has been adopted, practice varies in different localities. In pursuance of a policy requiring that at least half the cost of schools of the last class shall be met by pupils' fees, a considerable number have recently been closed.

Most of the teachers are men, and are nominally expected to have the diploma of the School for Religious Workers in Beirut, or of a mission high school. It is gradually becoming possible to insist more rigidly upon this requirement.

The Mission has six higher schools: the American School for Girls in Beirut, Lebanon Boys' School in Suk el Gharb, Sidon Girls' School, Gerard Institute for boys in Sidon, Tripoli Boys' and Girls' Schools.

About three-eighths of the time of the pupils in the secondary schools is given to language study. As has been said, this is not through the deliberate purpose of the Mission, but owing to the peculiar circumstances of the country.

Many [23] pupils enter American schools for the sake of getting a sufficient command of English to enable them to emigrate and go into business in an English-speaking country. Economic factors have of course been a leading influence in making pupils rush to emigrate. Of 979 former pupils of one of the mission girls' schools, 237 were known or reasonably assumed to have emigrated. Among those of the 979 who could not be traced, it is assumed that a further considerable number have emigrated. The proportion of emigrants among former pupils of the boys' schools is undoubtedly higher.

Little specifically vocational training is now given in these sec-

22 It is the avowed policy of the University eventually to become a wholly native institution. Syrians and Americans are on a parity in the faculty; but it will be a long time before administrative control and certain teaching posts can be assumed by the natives.

23 The Committee states that there are only a few.

ondary schools. The girls do some light housework about their schools, but it has not seemed wise nor would it be acceptable to parents to ask them to cook or wash their clothes. In the girls' schools sewing is taught, and some fancy work. In the Lebanon Boys' School a carpentry shop has proved popular with the boys. Several attempts have been made in Gerard Institute to provide agricultural and vocational instruction. But the funds provided have not been sufficient to offset the loss of prestige and income which a vocational school suffers as compared to an academic one.[24] During 1926–27 an attempt was being made to reorganize the Sidon Girls' School with special reference to preparation for industrial work and home-making.

The buildings of most of the schools were poorly designed for the purpose, but equipment, with the exceptions of libraries and laboratories, is fairly good.

In charge of each school, with one exception, is an American principal, assisted by a number of Syrians and usually by one French teacher. Boys' teachers come mainly from mission high schools; a number of them have also attended the American University of Beirut. The girls' teachers come from mission schools. The foreign staff are college graduates.

In all of the schools a majority of the pupils are children of the well-to-do, a fact partly due to the policy of requiring the schools to work toward complete self-support. The salaries of principals, the buildings, and a number of scholarships comprise the total financial aid from America. Fees in the secondary schools range from $85 to $100 per year for board and from $4.50 to $55 for tuition.

The American Junior College for women was established as a development of the American School for Girls in Beirut. It is now located separately. There are about fifteen pupils in the two classes. The first graduation took place in 1926. The Junior College provides the only opportunity for Moslem girls to go beyond the secondary grades, except in the universities of Beirut and Damascus. The chief question before the school at present is that of finance.

The Mission has also a School for Religious Workers in Beirut, formerly called the Theological Seminary. There were nine students in 1924–25. Graduates are usually settled at once as licensed preachers, and are ordained if they prove their ability and earnestness.

The Mission has held a ten-day Teachers Institute in Suk el Gharb each summer. Plans for admitting teachers from other than mission schools are under consideration.[25]

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregational) has entered Syria since the War, following its Armenian clientèle from Turkey.

[24] Cf. the Friends' Girls' School in Brummana.
[25] The Teachers Institute is to be taken over by the United Missionary Council—1927.

The Central Turkey College, formerly a collegiate institution in Aintab, now functions as the Boys High School in Aleppo. The school comprises elementary and secondary grades. Though actually open to all nationalities, the student body is almost wholly Armenian. The objective of the principal, Dr. Merrill, is the development of an arts college under the direction of the people of the community, which shall admit students of various nationalities and religions. A printing department is conducted to enable the boys to earn part of their expenses.[26] There are about 150 pupils.

The Aleppo Girls' School has about 100 pupils, all Armenians. The course is that of a regular American secondary school.

The American Armenian School for Girls, in Beirut, moved from Adana, Turkey, in 1921. There are about 200 pupils, Armenians. A ten-year course, extending through high school, is offered. Tuition to day pupils is $7 to $10 per year; to boarders, $75.

The Gregorian Community maintains three schools in the Armenian Refugee Camp in Beirut, with a total of about 500 pupils. These schools are conducted with almost unbelievably scanty resources and equipment, and the training given is naturally very elementary. The cost per pupil per year is $4 or less, of which about a third is received from tuition.

The Armenian Protestants have one school in the same camp with five primary grades, and one in the town with secondary classes. Armenian, English, French, and Arabic are taught in all classes, to the exclusion of most other matter. The American Board coöperates with the Armenian Protestant community's school in Beirut, contributing about a quarter of their budget of $3,750.

The American Reformed Presbyterian Mission is working in the region of Latakiyeh. In the town of Latakiyeh it has one high school for boys and one for girls, both of which are overcrowded. Formerly not only tuition but also food and clothes were given to the pupils. Efforts are reported to change the policy of the schools and make them more or less self-supporting; but not much has yet been achieved in this direction. Most of the pupils, of whom there are said to be about 200, are Christians. The Mission has also a number of village schools of very elementary grade.

The American School for Girls in Damascus is the creation of its principal, Miss C. A. Essenberg. It began in 1925. The curriculum extends from kindergarten through high school. The sixty-six girls and seven boys (kindergartners) in the school come from some of the prominent Moslem families of the city. The school is not evangelistic. Its support comes mainly from Women's Clubs in California. Offers of contributions by local people of means are said

[26] The U. M. C. Committee cites this as vocational training. Dr. Merrill, however, says he is not trying to run a vocational school, but has introduced this solely as a means of temporary support for some of the boys.—Author.

to have been declined for fear of losing extraterritorial rights, inasmuch as the institution has not been in the good graces of the French authorities.

The educational work of the Near East Relief is treated in a separate section.

The Young Women's Christian Association is included under this summary of educational institutions since its program is distinctly educational, in the broad sense of the term. The Y. W. C. A. in Syria is a part of the World's Y. W. C. A. and includes six small branches in the vicinity of Beirut, organized independently between 1912 and 1918, and a Service Center in Beirut opened in 1920 under the American Y. W. C. A. These have all been merged since 1920 in one general organization with the service center as the Central Branch.

The program of the Service Center in Beirut includes a variety of activities: classes, clubs, vocational training, recreation, discussion groups, etc., all leading toward physical, intellectual and spiritual development of girls and women.

The Service Center carries on also an extension program of classes and recreation in a number of small factories and a Branch Center in the Armenian Refugee Camp. The program of the Camp Center comprises classes, recreational groups, talks for mothers on child care, home making, entertainments for the community, etc.

The Y. W. C. A. works in close coöperation with schools and social agencies, foreign and Syrian. The complete financial support for the Y. W. C. A. in Syria has been borne by the Y. W. C. A. of the U. S. A. The staff is international, with an American in charge, assisted by a Syrian, an Armenian, and a Swiss secretary. The nationalities represented in the Y. W. C. A. centers are largely Syrian, Armenian and Jewish. The religions are Greek Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Moslem and Druze.

Social Conditions [27]

Sources of information of a reliable kind concerning the topics covered by "Social Conditions" are far less plentiful than those that have been drawn upon for the other sections of this report. Missionaries have little *definite* information along these lines. It has been clearly inexpedient to cite the names of those whose testimony is quoted.

"Men are superior to women," declares the Prophet, "on account of the qualities with which God hath gifted the one above the other.

27 This section is an abridgment of a report prepared for the Near East Survey and approved by the United Missionary Council Committee of Survey. The compilers of the report collected the testimony of over fifty individuals representing various sects, by interviews and correspondence. Footnotes are the author's own.

. . . Virtuous women are obedient." A woman's father, or failing him, her brothers or uncles, are her natural guardians throughout her lifetime, except that their place is filled by her husband if and as long as she is married. So closely is the honor of the male guardian bound up with that of his ward, that he is often socially justified in defending it even at the expense of her own life.

Naturally there are many modifications of this basic attitude. It exists in most exaggerated form in the harem of uneducated city dwellers. Christianity, however defective, gives a considerable standing and freedom of action to women. The impact of western culture has of late been a factor in the relaxing of some of the old restrictions upon Moslem women. Among Christians, the status of women is rising; it has always been higher among Armenian Christians than among Syrian Christians. Among Moslems the liberation of women is proceeding less rapidly than among Christians. But it is to be noticed that a constantly increasing proportion of the girls are being sent to school—some of them to the highest schools open to women. Druze, Nusairiyeh, and Matawaleh women are most secluded from the world; and among them there is at present the least progress toward emancipation. The women of the nomadic beduin have long lived more on a par with their men than have their sisters in the towns. Although Moslems, they are not veiled.

A large majority of informants commented upon a tendency to marry at later ages than in former times, especially among the better educated classes and in the cities. There may be mentioned three important reasons for this tendency: first, the schools, which keep the boys and girls much longer than they used to; second, the advancing standard of living; third, the post-war economic depression which has made it harder for a young man to acquire enough wealth to support a family.

Theoretically the control of parents over children in Arab lands is absolute, until boys reach their majority and until girls are married. The patriarchal authority, strongest among Moslems and Jews and related sects, is also great among the Christians. But in practice the docility and respectful obedience which should result from the established mores are as a rule sadly lacking. Parents, generally speaking, alternate between indulgence and harshness. Corporal punishment is often cruelly administered. Alternate scolding and petting are the recipe of many mothers.

No significant statistics of infant mortality are available; estimates of physicians range between 50 per cent and 85 per cent.

With the exception of a few orphanages, and the work of village schools, there are practically no agencies caring for child welfare. The agencies for the care of children, so far as known, are the following:

Alaouite Territory:

(1) Government orphanage with ninety inmates. Some of these are sent to a government agricultural school.

Aleppo:

(1) Near East Relief, working among former inmates of its orphanages.[28]
(2) Armenian Red Cross, a local organization receiving some help from the British Friends of Armenia.
(3) Rescue of children and older girls by League of Nations agent.[28]
(4) Orphanages of various religious communities, native and foreign.

Damascus:

(1) Care of foundlings by Lazarite sisterhood.
(2) Two government orphanages.
(3) Sisters of Charity orphanage.
(4) Greek Orthodox orphanage.
(5) "Goutte de lait" station, under government auspices.

Tripoli:

(1) Sisters of Charity foundling asylum.

Beirut:

(1) Near East Relief.
(2) Lazarite sisterhood orphanage.
(3) Armenian local organization.
(4) Work by several native churches.

Metn district:

(1) Sisters of Charity agencies in a few villages.

The average child, especially amongst the poor, grows up under most adverse circumstances. From infancy to adult years the story is one of neglect. A missionary's wife writes:

The child is nursed whenever it cries; the older child is fed whenever he demands it, even rich sweets and strong coffee. He is allowed to eat at all hours of the day. Children are infrequently bathed, if at all, and rarely have their faces and hands washed or their hair cared for. The most obvious results of these uncleanly habits are the great prevalence of eye disease and the common presence of vermin and skin diseases. Among the poorer classes, remedies recommended by old women are tried in cases of disease, often resulting in worse conditions than the original ones.

Since Syria is not a land of organized industry, there is little child labor in the usually accepted connotation. In some silk mills children as young as ten years are said to be employed, but only on light work. In the cities many children are employed in the bazaars as apprentices. The work of children in the brass factories of Damascus impresses strangers as injurious, but no definite information of

28 See section on "Refugees" for more details.

maltreatment is at hand. Many girls, some as young as ten years, are employed in cigarette factories where conditions are said to be "unhealthy for body as well as soul."

Some of the most often mentioned needs of Syrian children are:

1. Trained nurses and midwives to give them a proper start in life and to instruct their mothers.
2. Agencies to supply pure milk.
3. Intelligent care of eyes and teeth.
4. Intelligent regulation of food and sleep.
5. Better medical attention, and the better observance of doctors' orders.
6. Summer camps for poor city children.
7. Playgrounds where they may learn to play.

The Mosaic laws inflicting death on the girl who "plays the harlot," and in many cases upon her consorts, are the theoretical basis of the general Syrian attitude toward prostitution. Today, however, licensed houses of prostitution are found in many of the towns. In eleven towns there are well over 1,000 licensed prostitutes, and Aleppo and Damascus each has between 400 and 500. The control of the profession is said to be in the hands of a small group; the government is not trying to abolish it, and it is spreading widely. "Maisons de convenance" are established near all the important French military posts, with the approval of the military authorities, who believe that they are a definite protection to the residents of the places in which they are located. Formerly prostitutes in Syria were almost entirely foreign women; now they are recruited from almost every group of natives as well. Few Moslem girls, however, enter public houses; but many Moslem widows and divorcees are privately engaged in prostitution. The men who patronize brothels may be classified according to their numbers as: (1) military (2) native Christians (3) Moslems. Many report a growing tendency to be indifferent to the spread of prostitution, or else to regard it as a natural concomitant of the European influence on the country.

Illegitimacy is not regarded by Syrians as being very common or a serious problem, but the number of foundling asylums in the country suggests that it may be more common than is generally recognized or admitted.

In most parts of the country there is reported an increase in the use of narcotic drugs, particularly hasheesh and cocaine. Some natives allege that there is laxness in enforcing the laws. No noticeable public sentiment has yet been aroused concerning the subject.

Almost without exception, correspondents testify to a great and growing increase in the use of alcohol, and observe that before the War foreign beverages were very rare in Syria. The native *'araq,* a strong spirit, and the wines of the country were, however, in use.

It is noticeable that Moslems who formerly defied in private the Koranic injunction against drinking now do so publicly. Wine shops, and cafés which serve liquors are now to be found in nearly every town. The common attitude, except among strictly orthodox Moslems, is complaisant. Only one temperance organization, a women's society in Damascus, is reported.

In 1922 the Lebanese government legislated that there should be no commercial gambling-places in its territory; the law was overruled by the mandatory power, and such places were opened in two mountain summer resorts. In native communities, there are no recognized public gambling-houses. The government of Alexandretta has specifically forbidden playing "rummy" during all but one month of the year.

Charity in the Orient is seldom organized, but one gives personally to beggars as a religious duty. Except in Beirut, the number of beggars, which reached a maximum during the War and immediately afterward, is declining. There are few Armenian beggars, as these people care for their poor in the western manner, through their churches and charitable societies.

For centuries the Syrians have been under the control of foreign powers, and have come to regard the laws under which they live as being imposed from without for other objects than their own good. Syrians who occupy government positions are generally believed to do so with an eye to what they can make out of it, rather than for the service that they may render to their fellow-countrymen.

With few notable exceptions, business men and merchants are frankly seeking the largest profits possible by any means at hand. Few merchants are convinced that "honesty is the best policy." It is often said that merchants distrust each other so much that partnership firms do not exist except among relatives by blood or marriage. Investigation shows this statement to be untrue, for there are many partnerships among unrelated persons, even in some cases between Moslems and Armenians. Corporations, however, are regarded with great distrust.

As to the ethical standards of lawyers, doctors and religious heads, there is much difference of opinion. Lawyers are expected to serve their clients, and few expect them to accept only cases which they believe to be morally right. Doctors' standards vary widely, but are on the whole improving. Priests and religious leaders are considered to be serving primarily their denominational interests and only secondarily their people.

The Syrian ranking of moral virtues differs from that of most western nations, and failure to understand it often leads Europeans unintentionally to wound or shock the Syrians. The following summary is presented with the realization that it is incomplete and not

wholly satisfactory. The Syrian ranks as the supreme virtue what he calls "izzet un nefs," which includes ideas of self-honor and self-esteem, but is not to any great degree equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon idea of self-respect.[29] The second virtue is loyalty—to a friend or to one's own social or religious group, rather than to abstract principles. Third may be listed hospitality, arising from a conviction that one's self-respect demands that a guest be honored. Finally, the Syrian is fundamentally religious in his attitude toward life. He sees the hand of God in every event, where the westerner would be prone to be worldly-wise and cynical.

No differentiation has been attempted between Moslem and Christian moral values, for in the particulars mentioned, Syrians differ little whether they be of one religion or another. From a social point of view, the worst moral failing of the Syrians is their lack of what might be called a broad "community spirit," a deficiency that has been intensified by religious divisions.

Numerous Syrians express the view that the Protestant missions have placed more emphasis on the teaching of theological doctrine than on the attempt to develop moral conduct. Conversation with Moslems indicates a deep conviction that unsectarian moral training should be provided in every school. A priest wishes to see moral training which "will make young men, whatever their religion, think alike in moral matters." Many broad-minded Moslems and Christians alike are pleased with the schools of the French Mission Laïque, since they provide ethical training without religious teaching. But the majority believe that ethical training for Syrians must be associated with belief in a higher power if it is to be effective.[30]

Testimony agrees that crime is on the increase, especially among the lower classes. The bad economic situation of the country since the War is most often cited as a cause. There is no definite evidence of an increase in juvenile delinquency. Young boys are put into prison with older offenders, and it is the general belief that a young man's first prison term amounts to an apprenticeship in crime. Women prisoners, who are few, are segregated. Cases which in western countries would be treated as psychopathic are dealt with simply as criminal.

The War, with its accompanying starvation, led to the death of large numbers of the blind in Syria; but on the other hand it facilitated the spread of eye diseases among the population. No approximation of the number of blind can be obtained, but it is certainly large. La Société des Amis des Aveugles founded in 1925 in coöpera-

[29] Foreign school-teachers in Syria remark that injuring the dignity of a schoolboy is a much more effective punishment than whipping.

[30] There appears to be little or no *special* provision for training future teachers in methods of giving ethical training, except in the School for Religious Workers of the American Mission.

tion with the Assistance Publique, is undertaking to compile a registry of the blind of the country, with the object of rendering medical and vocational assistance. Its work has not yet had much practical outcome. The Industrial School of the British Syrian Mission in Beirut, which was founded in 1870, is the only institution for the Syrian blind in the region. The number of pupils has seldom exceeded twenty-five, about a half-dozen of these being girls. The girls and a few of the men are boarded. Although the number of day pupils is not limited, few relatives of the blind are willing to pay for their education, and enrollment is thus kept small. Broom- and mat-making, and chair-seating are among the trades taught. Reading in Arabic Braille is also taught, but the only available literature consists of a few selections from the Bible. The Near East Relief has a school for the blind at Ghazir, near Beirut.[31] The Armenian refugee colony in Aleppo maintains a school for the blind in the refugee camp, with some assistance from the British Friends of Armenia. Many Moslem blind find employment as reciters in the Mosques and at funerals; aside from this, begging is the only available occupation for them. Deaf-mutes are not aided by any special agencies.

The Lebanon Hospital for Mental Diseases, an independent missionary institution with headquarters in England, was established at Asfuriyeh, near Beïrut, in 1900. It is a thoroughly modern hospital with a capacity of 140, practically always full. Until the recent establishment of hospitals for the insane in Palestine, it could claim to be the only modern institution for the insane between Constantinople and Cairo. Its patients are received from a wide geographical area. Damascus has an insane asylum, built under Turkish auspices, which is rather a place of confinement than a hospital. Insane are still often taken by their relatives to shrines and to lonely caves, where efforts are made to drive out their devils. The Lebanon hospital frequently receives patients who have been branded with the image of the cross in a futile attempt at exorcism.

The aged and infirm are as a rule cared for by their families, or supported by begging. Various religious communities support hostels where they may live free of rent. Most of these are unfurnished and uncared-for hovels, but a few give better care to their inmates. The following places of refuge are provided in the largest cities:

Beirut:

(1) A hostel run by the Greek Orthodox community.
(2) A Maronite hostel.
(3) *The Asile des Vieillards* conducted by Roman Catholic sisters, where both the indigent and paying inmates are well cared for.

31 See the separate report on Near East Relief activities.

Damascus:

(1) A home for ten inmates supported by a Moslem notable, Ahmed Kisbari Effendi.
(2) A hostel for twenty to thirty, supported by a Moslem society.

Aleppo:

(1) An old women's home in the refugee camp, supported by local Armenians.
(2) The "Widows Home," a collection of shacks where widows live rent-free, but usually have to feed themselves.
(3) *Hokedoun,* a khan supported by the Armenian community. The inmates go out to the work when they are able.

There are primitive shelters for the isolation of lepers in Damascus, but no suitable medical care is given. There may be other such places in other towns, but no allusion to them has been found.

Child play-life, as we know it in the West, is almost non-existent in a purely eastern environment. There is no organized playground in all Syria, except those attached to schools (principally foreign mission schools).[32] The Daily Vacation Bible School, introduced by Protestant missionaries in Beirut in 1926, was the first attempt of its kind to teach children to make good use of their time during the school vacation. The Y. W. C. A. (see page 254) has a recreation program at the Beirut Service Centre with a tennis court on the roof and organized games for various types of girls; also supervised recreation at the Armenian Refugee Camp for children from the camp schools.

One of the greatest services to which American and British mission schools can point is the introduction of organized athletics. Today there are native sporting and tennis clubs in a number of places. Boy-scout and girl-guide troops have been organized in many schools, both foreign and native.

Coffee-houses and cinemas are the leading commercialized amusements. The former are indigenous; the latter have had their growth largely since the War. Moving-picture houses are now found in practically every place of over 10,000 in the country. The fact that most of the films are imported from Egypt, where there is strict censorship, tends to raise the moral tone of the pictures shown. One correspondent remarks: "The only special effect of the cinema is that of losing the time of the spectators." But correspondents from some interior cities complain that the cinema is having a bad influence. Few children attend the shows, which usually do not begin until late in the evening.

[32] It is symptomatic that the courtyard of a prominent native school in Beirut has been made useless as a place for most games by the erection in the centre of it of busts of the founder of the school and one of the teachers.—Author.

Outside of Beirut, few dance-halls are patronized by natives. There is one in Tripoli, which is felt by the natives to be a moral menace. An increasing number of coffee-houses and restaurants are introducing dancing as an added attraction. As a rule, the patrons are all men, and girls are provided by the management.

Refugees

The Great War and its aftermaths in Asia Minor led to an influx of thousands of Armenians into Syria. Within the last few years, the number of homeless families has been further increased by civil war and rebellion of Syrians against France. As the situations of the Syrian refugees and of the Armenian refugees are totally different, they will be treated separately.

War and rumors of war have driven many Syrians from their homes during the past year. It is impossible to obtain an accurate idea of the numbers who have been displaced and of the proportion that are really destitute. The regions evacuated or partially deserted by one sect or another comprise roughly that part of Syria and the Lebanon which lies between a line drawn from east to west several miles north of Damascus and the southern boundary of Syria; and east of a line extending approximately along the Lebanon range, as indicated on the map.

In different places the motives for removing have been different. From certain districts the inhabitants have gone to large centers like Beirut and Damascus, while in other places the movements have been local. Likewise the situation of the "refugees" varies from that of wealthy families who have closed their houses in Damascus and rented dwellings in Beirut, to that of *fellahin* from villages which have been completely wiped out by military operations. Unlike the Armenians who have come to Syria from Turkey, large numbers of the Syrians have been able to go to live with relatives whose homes are more favorably located. Were it not for this, the situation would be more acute than it is.

In Dera'a a number of refugees have been sheltered in barracks, and have received a certain amount of food from the French Army. The French authorities estimate that up to the end of 1925 some 5,000 were living as refugees in and near Dera'a, and 10,000 in the Lebanon.

From regions upset by civil war, many families fled in the fall and winter of 1925 to Beirut and other coast cities. Strenuous measures have been taken to encourage them to return to their homes, or to nearby villages. In the spring of 1926, many were sent back from Beirut by the government and the International Red Cross.

The Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic patriarchates of Damascus estimate that about 3,000 of each sect have left their homes. Each is aiding about 3,000 refugees in the city of Damascus.

Druzes from the Djebel Druze have gone in large numbers to Palestine and Transjordania; it is credibly reported that there is no great need among them. Practically none have gone to other parts of Syria. It is likely that many of these people will not return, having established themselves in trades in other places.

Among the Moslems there have been various local movements. The greatest exodus has been from the suburbs of Damascus, where some eighty villages have been bombarded by the French. The Charitable Aid Society, a local Damascus organization, is giving food (1 kg. of bread daily) to 12,000 persons. Some are living with relatives, others in Mosque properties. Small beginnings are being made toward the rehabilitation of the Meidan quarter, the southern part of Damascus which was evacuated by thousands and partially destroyed by bombing. Plans are announced for governmental aid in reconstructing ruined villages in the Hasbaya and Merjayoun districts of southern Lebanon. The political situation in Syria has caused a great deal of devastation, which cannot be really repaired until a much greater degree of security and confidence is restored.[33]

Since 1914, 150,000 Armenian refugees are believed to have entered Syria. Of these and their descendants, about 100,000 or 120,000 remain in the country. Emigration to France and to South America is reducing the numbers, but it will probably be many years before their numbers become insignificant. Before the War there were few Armenians in Syria; these were settled mainly in Aleppo and other northern towns. The great influxes into Syria came when the Turkish government expelled large numbers of Armenians from Anatolia; and when on the recession of Cilicia to Turkey by the French, the Armenians residing there fled southward.

The Armenian refugees have congregated almost without exception in the larger cities and towns. Aleppo and Beirut have been their chief gathering-places. A desire for the safety afforded by keeping together, and the past habits of most of the refugees—who were townspeople—have led to this congestion. The estimated numbers of Armenians in various centers and regions are:

Aleppo pre-War residents	8,000
" refugees in the city	18,000
" refugees in the camp	18,000
Alexandretta district	15,000
Latakiyeh	2,500
Hama, Homs	1,000
Tropili	2,000
Beirut and environs	15,000
Beirut refugee camp	15,000
Sidon, Tyre	1,000
Damascus and Hauran	10,000
Damascus city	6,000–7,000

33 Great improvement in this regard reported in 1927.

The total of 120,000 represents pre-War residents as well as refugees, the latter comprising probably 100,000.

The present population of the refugee camp at Beirut is estimated at 15,000. The remainder of the Armenian population have found places to live in the city. While those who live in the city are self-supporting or well-to-do, the poverty of the residents in the camp is abject. Housing, sanitation and the location of the camp are extremely bad. The numbers tend to diminish annually, but have recently been increased somewhat by refugees from the former camps at Damascus. The Armenian refugees in Beirut have established many shops in the city. Some have obtained work at odd jobs; many have entered domestic service, to the practical exclusion of native Syrians. As is likewise the case with Armenians in other parts of Syria, those in Beirut have shown a tendency to emigrate as rapidly as possible to France and North and South America. There is a common impression, however, that those now remaining represent the ones who are less anxious to emigrate, and who are likely to remain permanently unless some disaster drives them out.

Philanthropic work for Armenians in Beirut may be epitomized as follows:

1. Near East Relief (See separate report).
2. Beirut Relief Committee (a temporary local committee, representing thirteen Protestant organizations):
   a. Clinic, treating up to 300 patients per day. Coöperating with American University Hospital.
   b. Maternity ward, in the refugee camp, coöperating with American University Hospital.
   c. Distribution of bread to widows.
   d. Clothing distribution to a few cases.
   e. Employment of men on sanitation work at the refugee camp. Wages, 3 okes of flour per day. One hundred employed at a time.
3. British Friends of Armenia:
   Orphanages.
4. American Board for Foreign Missions:
   Schools.
5. Y. W. C. A.: Refugee Camp Center.
6. Croix Rouge Internationale:
   Negotiations with the government regarding aid to the Armenians from the government.
7. Lebanese Government:
   a. Free water supply to the camp.
   b. Land for playground at the camp.
   c. New site for camp: land has been set apart for a new refugee camp on high ground in a more healthful neighborhood than the

present one. The work of moving houses was expected to begin in the winter of 1926–27, and to be carried out gradually.

8. Armenian Benevolent Union (of Paris and Cairo):
   a. Orphanage.
   b. Industrial work. A total of about 500 boys and girls in both orphanage and workshops.
9. Armenian National Union:
   Orphanage at Juniyeh. (See separate report on Near East Relief.)
10. Miscellaneous Compatriotic Unions, and the Religious Communities give general relief, conduct schools and maintain a tuberculosis asylum at Maameltein for the isolation of virulent cases. (No statistics available.)

Of the 50,000 Armenians in Aleppo, some 35,000 or 38,000 are refugees, and of those about half live in a camp on the outskirts of the city. Housing conditions in the camp are reported to be better than in the Beirut camp. Here the houses are built of mud-bricks, better adapted to the climate than the wood and sheet-iron structures in Beirut. Water supply and sanitation are deficient; formerly the camp received water from the supply which serves the city, but this was cut off on account of non-payment and wells are now used.

Several years ago, a rather prosperous textile industry was the leading means of support of the Aleppo Armenians; a ban upon the importation of cotton into Turkey destroyed the principal market for their products and put many out of employment. Wages of such weavers as are now able to get work, are said to be two or three megidees per week (80c to $1.20). One megidee will purchase about five pounds of flour. About half of the workers among the Armenians are said to be unemployed or with only part-time employment.

Philanthropic work for Armenians in Aleppo may be epitomized as follows:

1. Near East Relief. (See separate report.)
2. Armenian Red Cross:
   Clinic, 60–80 patients daily.
3. Armenian Benevolent Society ("Parecorzagan"):
   Miscellaneous relief.
4. Armenian Benevolent Union (of Paris and Cairo):
   (No exact details available.)
5. League of Nations. Commission for Protection of Women and Children:
   a. Rescue of Christian women and children from non-Christian homes. 800 said to have been cared for since 1923.
   b. Relief, feeding.
   c. Agricultural colony on the Euphrates; about 60 families.

6. Bible Lands Missions Aid Society of London:
   Milk Depot.
7. Swiss Mission Society:
   Soup Kitchen, serving 300.
8. Shirajyan Hostel:
   Housing and employing 35 girls.
9. Cilician Refugee School (run by a local committee):
   1,200 children.
10. Compatriotic Unions:
    Thirty-two such unions have provided housing and schools. They receive some funds, the amount of which is diminishing, from compatriots in America.
11. Mormon Missionaries:
    Understood to project an agricultural colony for some 200 Armenian converts.

At the outbreak of hostilities in the fall of 1925, the two Armenian camps on the outskirts of Damascus were evacuated. Prior to that time there were estimated to be about 14,000 Armenians in the city, mainly in the camps mentioned. Now there are believed to be about 6,000 or 7,000, all living within the city. They are perhaps more bitterly hated by the Syrians than in any other locality, due in part to the alleged violent acts of a number of soldiers of the Armenian Legion recruited by the French army to fight the rebels. Like other residents of Damascus, the Armenians are suffering from the general depression of industry and commerce. Owing to the unstable state of affairs, it is impossible to give a detailed report of relief agencies actually operating.

Although the government and various organizations have encouraged the Armenians to leave Alexandretta, some thousands still remain there. Their huts are in swamp grounds, some of which the government has tried to fill in. Alexandretta is the one seaport of northern Syria, so that a colony lives there to benefit from the trade. The important aspect of the Alexandretta refugee colony is not its size or poverty so much as its disposition to malaria. It is a center from which infection has been carried to Armenians throughout Syria.

Two possible solutions have been suggested for the Armenian refugee problem, emigration and segregation.

Emigration to France and to South America has considerably reduced the numbers of Armenians in Syria. No close estimate of the number of emigrants has been obtainable. The current of emigration might be more rapid were it not for the impoverished condition of

many of those who would leave if they could afford it. Near East Relief has sent a few hundred boys to farm work in France. Relatives in the country of destination have helped many to leave Syria. The Nansen scheme for repatriating Armenians in the Trans-Caucasian republic still hangs fire. The irrigation projects involved have been declared technically sound, but capital is not forthcoming. Economic and political conditions deter many Armenians from emigrating to Armenia.[34]

As against any solution through emigration, the opinion is widely held that segregation will be the only solution to the "Armenian problem"—segregation ideally in a country of their own, but failing that, segregation within Syria.

In cities, the refugee camps may turn out to be the nuclei of permanent Armenian quarters. The nationalistic aspirations and jealously guarded traditions and language of the people make them tend to keep apart. They have their own churches and as far as possible their own schools. On the other hand, most Syrians favor segregation, and object to Armenians moving to other than their own quarters of the cities.

Attempts are continually made to persuade the Armenians to leave their squalid city dwellings and settle as farmers in the country. Two types of proposals have been made: one, that they seek homes in Syrian villages; the other that they be settled in colonies of their own. But thus far, such proposals have been uniformly fruitless. In the first place, the Armenians were tradesmen and townspeople before their exile, and seem to prefer city life. Fear of being assimilated by an alien people has been a strong deterrent to settlement in Syrian villages; fear of persecution may also enter in. It has happened unpropitiously that certain villages in which Armenians have been urged to settle have been destroyed during the recent upheavals. Plans for the establishment of agricultural colonies are spasmodically discussed. A colony founded by Miss Yeppe, representative of the League of Nations, has grown to about sixty families who are said to be doing well. The Syrian government has offered free lands near tributaries of the Euphrates, east of Aleppo, to any wishing to settle there. But the land offered is in the region inhabited by nomadic beduin whose living is derived in part from the crops of villagers along the eastern limit of settlement. Until public order is guaranteed, it is not likely that anyone will care to settle on the land. The land is said to be of good quality and capable of producing good crops by dry farming, or if mechanically irrigated. The government plan to settle Armenian refugees on lands inland from Sidon and Tyre is reported to progress favorably.

[34] Cf. the chapter on Armenia.

Near East Relief—Syria-Palestine Area [35]

Administrative headquarters of the Near East Relief in Syria were established in Beirut in July, 1919. The organization in this area has been concerned chiefly with the welfare of Armenian refugees from Cilicia and other parts of Asia Minor, some 150,000 of whom have entered Syria since 1914. At present its work is carried on principally in Beirut and Aleppo, these being the chief centers of concentration of the Armenian refugees.

The work carried on at present in Palestine is subsidiary to that in Syria. The Jerusalem office and the orphanage at Nazareth are maintained especially with a view to calling the attention of the numerous tourists in the Holy Land to the work of the organization.

The following figures from the New York office indicate the extent and cost of the work still being carried on, which is much less than it was a few years ago.

	Numbers Affected	*Budget for Jan. 1–June 30, '27*
Regular program: (care of orphans) *	10,258	$153,900
Supplementary: (refugee relief, etc.) †	4,736	42,500
	14,994	$196,400

* Orphanage and post-orphanage work.
† Temporary. Probably terminating August, 1927.

The enrollment of children in Near East Relief orphanages in the Syria-Palestine area, as of the 31st December, 1926, was as follows:

Ages	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Totals*
Under 4 years	8	10	18
4–7 years	49	30	79
8–11 years	323	62	385
12 and 13 years	325	222	547
14 and 15 years	119	341	460
16 and over	40	239	279
Total	864	904	1,768
Subsidized in local orphanages			971
Subsidized in tubercular sanatorium			20
Grand Total			2,759

The foregoing tabulation of the ages of the children in institutions indicates that there are still in Near East Relief institutions 482 boys and girls under twelve years of age, and 1,029 under fourteen, for whom provision must be made if the organization's orphanage program be concluded within two years. Arrangements have been made for the assumption of responsibility for some of these by European societies, but there still remains a large proportion for whom

[35] It has seemed best to describe the status of Near East Relief as it was found at the time of the actual survey. The material in this section should be so interpreted.

Near East Relief is solely responsible. It is the opinion of the director of the area that with a continuation of the present system of outplacing in homes, it would be possible to vacate the orphanages within two years; but this would involve outplacing a large number of very young children, who ought to have supervision, and assistance, when necessary, from some organization. From the financial point of view, it would also be necessary to make provision for the children in local orphanages of other organizations, for whom the Near East Relief is responsible until their maturity. This does not apply to all of the subsidy agreements, but in many cases this responsibility has been explicitly assumed.

In addition to the institutional care of orphans, the following activities are carried on, mainly for inmates of Near East Relief orphanages:

	Cases monthly
Clinics	116
Infirmary	34
Day nursery in the Beirut refugee camp	96 *
Advanced education for ex-orphanage children of superior ability	93
Child welfare work:	
Outplaced children supervised	4,536
Outplaced children subsidized	655
Members of Near East League †	596

* Largely children of mothers who are caring for outplaced ex-orphanage children.
† This probably represents in part a duplication of the two preceding items.

There is also a Working Boys' Home in Jerusalem only recently (1926) started, from which no report of enrollment has been received.

The budget of the Near East Relief includes also appropriations for work outside its primary field of caring for orphans, viz.: the emergency feeding of 2,236 children, and the distribution of food to 2,500 adults.[36]

The location of the various units is as follows:

Beirut:

Administrative headquarters; Clinic; Child-feeding station; Infirmary; Day nursery; Girls' industrial; Personal service; Social service; Near East League chapter.

Jerusalem:

Branch office; Working boys' home; Near East League chapter.

Aleppo:

Child-welfare station; Clinic; Near East League chapter; Apprenticing service.

Damascus:

Child-welfare station.[37]

[36] Carried on largely through the coöperating organizations united in the "Beirut Relief Committee."
[37] It is uncertain whether this station is now open.

Zahleh:

Child-welfare station; Child-feeding station; Near East League chapter.

Alexandretta, Ghazir, Haifa, Jaffa — Near East League chapters.

Antilyas, Ghazir, Nazareth, Sidon — Orphanages in operation.

Jubeil, Sidon — Orphanages, closed.

Fifteen other institutions are subsidized at various rates and under various conditions, the total subsidy being $89,278.32, effective Dec. 31, 1926. Special conditions are attached to the subsidies given to certain of these institutions.

A most significant phase of the work of the Near East Relief is the educational program followed in its orphanages. In addition to giving the usual elementary academic training, it is aimed to make every boy capable of self-support before outplacing, or at least before losing contact with him; and to fit each girl for becoming a mother or for earning a living.

As marriage and domestic service are the two principal outlets open to girls from the orphanages, and needlework and weaving are almost the only industrial occupations which they can enter in Syria, the problem of vocational training for them is relatively simple. The rug works at Ghazir was, in 1926, training or employing nearly 500 orphan girls; the Beirut Girls' Industrial employed nearly 400 ex-orphanage girls at needlework.

In the case of boys, there must be taken into consideration not only the expense of equipping shops for giving instruction in a particular trade, but also the probability that the boys trained in a given trade will be able to find employment. With a limited field in which the boys may seek employment, since it is not desirable for them to move to towns and cities where there is no Armenian population, it is inevitable that as soon as a large orphanage builds up an efficient school for training shoemakers, for instance, the market for such labor will be oversupplied. The same applies to any of the trades which can practically be taught in an orphanage. The alternative is—as practised by the St. Gregory Armenian Catholic Orphanage in Beirut—to place the boys out in the bazaars of the city as apprentices, while they continue to live in the orphanage. This appears to work excellently in a small institution such as the one men-

tioned; but in an orphanage for several hundred boys, it would not be possible under the present conditions of trade in Syria, and would be of dubious feasibility even in normal times. What must apparently be done, then, is to give training in the trades which are least crowded at a given time, and to try to apprentice the older boys as soon as possible, so that they may not only be learning a trade but may also have assured jobs.

Mr. Wilcox, the Director of Education of the Near East Relief, asserts that an agricultural school is more needed in Syria at present than is a trade school.

The outplacing service of the Near East Relief has handled with remarkable efficiency a most difficult task. The policies followed are:

1. No dismissal from an orphanage until an investigator (native) visits the home into which outplaced.
2. Every child is visited after discharge, the frequency depending upon the need.
3. Every outplaced child and supporting member of the family into which placed, is treated when ill, free of charge, in clinic or hospital.
4. A cash subsidy is given when supporting family are unable to provide full support.
5. School tuition is paid for those unable to pay.
6. Jobs are found for senior outplacements and for members of supporting families.
7. Infants of supporting mothers are cared for in a day-nursery in the Beirut refugee camp.
8. No outplacements as maids are made without thorough investigation, and wages are collected or positions changed if unsatisfactory.

In spite of the economic depression of the country and the unfortunately unwelcome position of Armenians, the Near East Relief outplaced from its orphanages 3,359 children in 1924, 1,716 children in 1925, and 901 children in 1926—a total of 5,976 children in three years. At the end of 1926, 4,356 outplaced children were being supervised by the Near East Relief. It is obvious that, even if the orphanages were immediately transferred to other organizations, there would remain the responsibility of caring for the interests of these thousands of outplaced children, many of whom are too young to be expected to make their own way in the world even with a normal start.

Working-boys' homes, such as have proved extremely successful in the experience of the Near East Relief in Greece, appear to offer a hopeful solution of the problem of boys too old to be kept in a conventional orphanage, but unable to make homes of their own. A working-boys' home has recently been opened by the Near East Relief in Jerusalem.

The Near East League is an organization of boys and girls now or formerly in orphanages of the Near East Relief. Its object is to

develop among these boys and girls the normal social life of which their situation tends to deprive them. The need for an organization which will make them feel that they are members of a community and not utterly outcast from the world cannot be overestimated.

The Near East League, established in Syria in 1924, now has eleven chapters in the Syria-Palestine area. Of these, eight are organized among boys and girls who have left the orphanages, while the remaining three are composed of older boys and girls in the orphanages at Nazareth, Antilyas, and Ghazir. The present membership (March, 1927) is roughly 600, while it is estimated that a thousand enjoy the use of the facilities of the chapters.

The sources of income of the League are obtained from free offerings, dramas, cinemas, and monthly fees when such can be collected. Also the honorary members are expected to contribute. (Honorary members are interested adults.)

The League chapter in Beirut (the largest, with a membership of 250) now has a comfortable club building. . . . It has a closed-in reading room and office at one end, while the larger part of the building is one big room used for entertainments, movies, etc. The reading room contains a library of 1,100 books, and fifteen newspapers are also available for those who wish to read. The chapter also has a band of twenty pieces. . . . During the winter, night classes were conducted for those boys who wished to study Arabic, French, and Armenian. . . . There is a basket-ball court just outside the building. . . .

Every Sunday evening there is a meeting of the boys at the League clubhouse. These meetings are in charge of one of the priests or ministers of Beirut or vicinity. The orphans' League Committee prepares the program and invites the speaker. However, they try to avoid favoring any denomination or belief more than another. Much care must be used in this, because the boys are quick to suspect that the League is being made the tool of some religious denomination.

The League also publishes the *Star,* a monthly publication containing news of the various orphanages and League chapters. . . . This paper is being sent to the League boys who have gone to France, and we hear that they are hoping to organize in France.

It is difficult to give the definite number of the League members of any one chapter, for many of the boys are transient and are merely waiting an opportunity to go to France, South America, or some other place where they have greater opportunities. . . .

It is the plan of the Advisory Committee (headed by the Area Director of Near East Relief) to entrust as much of the responsibility of the League affairs to the boys themselves as they can manage. . . .[38]

It may have been noticeable that in the report just quoted, the League appears to be exclusively for boys. Nominally, it is for both

[38] From a descriptive report of the Near East Relief worker in charge of the League, summer of 1926.

sexes, but as a matter of fact the overwhelming majority of its members are boys. It is worthy of consideration whether or not it might be desirable to institute a parallel organization for ex-orphanage girls.

There can be absolutely no question of the necessity, for a number of years to come, of an organization to perform the functions for which the Near East League has been designed. There are no other organizations in Syria that could fill its place.

On the other hand, it has been suggested that the scope of the Near East League might be expanded, to make it an organization for children of all races and nationalities in the Near East. Without denying the nobility of such a project, it seems safe to assert that in Syria it is impossible. The Armenian orphans' invitation to participate in their organization would not be a popular idea among Syrians; on the other hand, if the League were remodelled so as to be predominantly Syrian, the Armenians would undoubtedly be forced out. For the present and the near future, the best that can be hoped for is an organization which will encourage the Armenian boys and girls to help each other by maintaining a sense of community until some solution of the general "Armenian problem" is reached.

APPENDIX A

THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION[1]

By O. S. Morgan

In appraising the agriculture of a section, the social and economic antecedents of farmers as well as the physical factors affecting farming should be borne in mind. The sound rugged peasant stocks of these Near-eastern countries have been exploited for centuries. Hence now they make a poor showing measured against the conditions obtaining among farmer groups that for a few or many generations have had positive social and political institutions measurably on their side.

The science of agriculture is a modern aspect of this age-old occupation and way of living. The craft aspect of farming is still predominant in the Near East. Peasants follow the modes of farming handed down from the dim past. Intensive farming of obvious natural garden spots, agricultural oases, is general. Crop lands proved by trials with pre-modern farming methods are exploited to the full by these methods. Grazing methods are still of the early type. Rational modernized agricultural exploitation by means of extensive and intensive methods such as mechanization, dry-farming, etc., is an almost unwritten agricultural page.

I. What are the essential aspects of the agricultural situation in the Balkans and Levant?

Considering the primary processes of agriculture, a great proportion of the plowing consists in scratching the surface soil to the depth of three or four inches. Seeding is often done prior to plowing. Fertilization of any sort is rare. Frequently in northern sections, farm manures, the chief fertilizing potential on farms, are dissipated and the dung is dried and used for fuel. On intensive crops such as the vine and tobacco, moldboard plowing, some fertilizing and intertillage are practised. In some favored places throughout the area,

[1] Through invitation of the Survey Committee this summary account of Agriculture is presented. Statistical matter is reduced to a minimum in the hope of digesting into readable form in the space allotted some two hundred pages of original reports. These agricultural surveys by the writer were made possible through the generous financial support of Mr. Ery Kehaya, New York City.

control of crop pests and diseases is undertaken in an elementary way. A cheap knapsack sprayer is, however, pretty ineffectual when the enemy pest, disease or insect, is fifteen to thirty feet away in the tops of citrus, fig, olive, nut, or other fruit trees. Only in one small area did the writer observe reasonably effective modern disease and insect control in deciduous fruit-growing. This favored spot was in the cheering agricultural atmosphere of Greece.

Harvesting methods are primitive. The most primitive is the threshing on dirt, stone or concrete floors. A day's work for the entire family using the spiked threshing boards, the yoke of cattle, and the screens, will be some ten bushels of chaff-free, but not weed-, grit-, or dirt-free bread grain. The straw and chaff constitute the bulk of the dry roughage for livestock. The fanning mill, by means of which threshed grain is cleaned of much of its extraneous matter is being popularized, especially for Armenia.

Livestock in general is inferior. The good horses in Armenia were used by the army. In Bulgaria, however, many farmers have fair-to-good horses. Donkeys and pony horses serve as mountain pathfinders. The water buffalo, seen frequently but not predominant anywhere, is a powerful, if slow, draft animal. Dependence for draft power is commonly placed on the ox or the cow. Bulgaria has the best general supply of draft animals. But in northern Greece, in parts of Turkey, and in northern Armenia 800- to 1200-pound oxen are common. Of cows it might be said that the purpose is primarily draft, thereafter meat and hide, and finally milk. The positive correlation between relatively good crops, a relatively prosperous looking peasant, and heavy draft animals, is evident.

Sheep and goats occupy the position among eastern livestock that sparrows do among birds. On the denuded and semi-arid rough and mountainous lands of these countries flocks effectively transform scanty pasturage into milk, wool, meat, and hides. But unzoned pastures, over-grazed lands, so common generally throughout the area surveyed, spell weedy pastures, chronic anti-forests, and aggravated erosion. Good sheep in numbers were noted on the southern flanks of the Caucasus Mountains.

Poultry was numerous everywhere. Eggs were plentiful and invariably fresh. The tender, juicy, sweet-flavored broiler was not discovered. The only area where considerable sections produced superior-looking poultry was in northern Armenia and north of the Caucasus. Here fine flocks of geese were attended by girl or boy gooseherds. But in many sections, notably in Greece, improved modern types of chickens are being introduced and promising flocks started.

In bee-keeping much modern practice is in evidence. Back in the less accessible parts of the various countries, dung hives are usual.

The antiquated method of killing the colony to obtain the store of honey is far too common.

Very ineffective control of livestock diseases is the rule. Slight appreciation of modern sanative methods is evident in handling and processing farm products. Unscreened outhouses and unscreened dairy houses (or their equivalent) win the westerner to the Near-eastern way of partaking of cow-, sheep-, and goat-milk products, namely, as boiled or Bulgarized milk or as cheese. In the entire area only three farm dairy plants are known to the writer that could probably qualify as producers of "Grade A" milk for the New York City household-milk market.

Modern improved machinery is slowly being introduced. In 1926, there were 170 tractors in Armenia, one threshing-machine. In 1927, in eastern Thessaly among the repatriated Greeks, the grain-binder and threshing-machine were common, whereas in western Thessaly among indigenous farmers the sickle and scythe and the threshing-floor persisted. In the farming district about Philippopolis, binders and threshing-machines in 1927 were operating; likewise in Palestine, but not in Transjordania, Syria, or Albania. Among the nomadic herdsmen of the mountains of northern Armenia, the writer saw a modern cream-separator being operated by a sheepskin-clad Tartar woman. However, down on the plains a government agronome was asked the average butter-fat test of the herd's milk. The erroneous answer of bluffing ignorance showed complete lack of knowledge of butter-fat testing *practice*. That is, the agricultural fact has been heard of but its orientation in practice has been rarely consummated.

Agricultural research and demonstration are in evidence in every country. Results on general farm practices are generally only faintly perceptible. Farmers show lively, if not intelligent interest in relatively technical agricultural matters. The brightest spot in this section of the agricultural picture is in Palestine. Adaptations of the Smith-Lever, or county farm agent type of work, are beginning to function in Armenia, Turkey, Palestine, Greece, and Bulgaria.

Agricultural education of college grade is making its start in these countries. The meager evidences of even medium-grade work are encouraging, considering the circumstances. Secondary agricultural education is under headway in every country save Syria and Transjordania. Elementary agricultural education is making promising beginnings in Armenia, Palestine, Greece, and Bulgaria.

II. What are the feasible ways and means of ameliorating the hard features of Near-eastern agriculture?

This question resolves itself, in the judgment of the writer, into a socio-economic question: How can a nation dignify and make eco-

nomically desirable the vocation of farming and the farmer mode of living? The populations of these Near East nations are from 60 to 90 per cent agricultural. Farming as it has been and, to a large extent, is conducted, has social and economic gravity against it.

Briefly, the social and economic points of view will have to be changed first among national leaders, next among the masses of farmers. This is a stupendous undertaking. The chief ways leading to the accomplishment are: Give the farm population an equitable national position in regard to: 1. (a) tariffs, (b) subsidies, (c) regulations, (d) transportation, (e) credit, and (f) taxes; 2. (a) general elementary education, (b) community vocational education for youth and adult, (c) adequately supported collegiate agricultural education, (d) sustained technical agricultural research; and 3. an extension program under national and local guidance with these prominent objectives, (a) local agricultural and community policies, (b) production efficiency programs, and (c) community and agricultural coöperation.

The foregoing is based upon the assumption that in the effective government of today it is essential that every member of society throw his weight enthusiastically and intelligently into the economic and social potentialities of the nation.

The results of the practicable working of such a program of modern agriculture would appear in: (a) doubling to quadrupling agricultural production in the course of 25 to 50 years; and (b) improving markedly the plane of rural living. Furthermore—and of even greater national and international significance—by these means the majority of the peoples of these countries, who are likely to stay agricultural for a considerable period, will become safely and intelligently articulate. If they emerge to political dominance in a backward, depressed country, they are apt to do the revolutionary thing. If they are justly introduced into their equitable social and economic position in the state, they are far more apt to be constructive political elements.

III. What is America's part in the reconstruction?

Nations generally feel self-sufficient in regard to an educational policy. "Give us the money and we'll make a good job of it" might well phrase the attitude toward the problem and the nub of its solution. But no nation is quite self-sufficient.

Nations will have to finance as well as execute the bulk of their educational and agricultural policies. No philanthropic agency or group of extra-national agencies can contemplate the execution of fundamental national policies. The problems are peculiar and approximate solutions will come chiefly through indigenous efforts.

America can, however, hasten the happy day of effective modern institutions in agricultural and rural communities. A chief way—phases of which are in operation now—is by demonstrations, viz., (a) elementary and secondary schools of agriculture; (b) practicable modern methods of farming; (c) modern farmer community activities; (d) adaptations of Smith-Hughes and Smith-Lever activities in coöperation with local and governmental agencies; (e) development of a few American-staffed schools of agriculture or collegiate departments of agriculture.

Everyone of the foregoing has passed through the experimental stage under the ægis of American philanthropy in several of these foreign lands. Governments and social institutions have heartily pronounced, "Well done" upon these efforts. In the current year carefully conceived trials of Smith-Hughes and Smith-Lever projects are being made by Near East Relief in Greece, as a check on the satisfactory outcome of a similar trial in the past two years in Armenia.

A second way America can help is to secure funds for agricultural fellowships. The fellows are carefully selected, go to a designated local, foreign, or American institution for designated work, and return to put into effect the adaptation of the special training. The fellowships may be on the "matching" basis, viz., the foreign agency to provide one fellowship, the American to match it. The writer is most familiar with the plan now in operation under the direction of the Near East Relief's Advisory Committee on Agriculture, but several foundations have already instituted such fellowships.

A third way is to send livestock, implements, seeds and farm supplies to be used as determined by an American supervisor. The Advisory Committee on Agriculture for Near East Relief has been very active in this field for several years. The effects are most salutary. Governments and localities are thereby favorably influenced to coöperate with America in her less material efforts to advance foreign national education and agricultural institutions.

Outright financial aid for agriculture after due canvass of concrete projects is being put to the acid test of trial in the case of Bulgaria and Russia. The International Education Board is collaborating with the Bulgarian government in erecting, equipping and staffing the national college of agriculture at Sofia. Mr. Julius Rosenwald, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, and others are contributing generously through the Jewish Agricultural Corporation for modern agricultural training by equipping and organizing extensive Jewish settlement projects in Russia.

Another avenue for American contribution lies in support of American-directed and mainly native-staffed agricultural schools, and

collegiate departments of agriculture. These institutions should have demonstration farms to enable them to make adaptations of American ways of farming. Scholarships to these schools should be generously provided in order to cut down the expensive and hazardous expedient of sending foreign students to America where superior agriculture is demonstrated, but where a superiority complex might become ingrained in the student. The dirt-farmer attitude so greatly needed among well-trained Near-eastern agriculturists, is much more likely to be inculcated by a local agricultural institution controlled by Americans, than through the perpetuation of the American agricultural fellowship expedient.

Finally, the greatest contribution to the Near East is intelligent, cordially interested friendship and fellowship. As matters now stand, well-grounded American agriculturists should visit, as frequently as may be, Near-eastern lands. Reciprocally, the Near East should be stimulated by legitimate and feasible ways to understand our technical and social approach to farm problems, and to this end the writer urges agricultural commissions to America. By these and other means the Near East will meet the West, and their agricultural ways will converge, if not to a unity of procedure, then to the chief desideratum, that of unity of purpose.

APPENDIX B

REPORT TO THE GENERAL SURVEY COMMITTEE FROM THE CONSTANTINOPLE CONFERENCE SEPTEMBER 29, 1927

By Bayard Dodge [1]

1. Scope of the Conference

The Constantinople Conference of the Near East Survey devoted itself to conditions in the Caucasus, Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece, Syria, and Palestine. Some thought was given to Dr. Fry's report on Albania and to replies to a questionnaire which was sent to a few British and American workers in 'Iraq. Dr. Russell Galt, of the American University at Cairo, attended the Conference, but conditions in Egypt were not studied. Persia, Arabia, Ethiopia, and Roumania were not included in the survey or considered at the Conference. In accordance with instructions received from the Committee in America, the Conference did not discuss evangelistic work although most of the delegates were interested in the question.

2. Relationship with Eastern Churches [2]

Dr. Peet was asked to report on relationships between the eastern and western churches. After considerable discussion, the Conference decided that the proper agencies to deal with this important matter were the Federal Council of Churches and the Episcopal Church. A strong hope was expressed that untrained persons, ignorant of eastern languages, would not try to deal with the oriental churches, but that a few properly trained agents could be found to conduct negotiations over a considerable period of time and in accordance with a consistent program.

3. Method of Procedure

The Conference did not start with any unified conception of needs and ways to meet them. The delegates assembled with diversified and even antagonistic ideas. They were asked to study reports and discuss recommendations in an open-minded way, leaving final decisions until the end of the ten days of work.

1 Dr. Dodge rendered this report as Chairman of the Constantinople Conference.
2 This subject was not dealt with in the survey itself.

The reports of Messrs. Ross, Fry, and Sibley, who conducted the survey, were studied with great care. Supplementary reports prepared by committees of field-workers, were also gone over in detail. By the eighth day, the Conference was ready to vote on many important matters and practically all, or I believe all, of the recommendations were unanimously adopted. In this brief statement, it is impossible to present these recommendations, but I shall try to explain the general attitude of the delegates who voted for them.

4. Orphanages and Relief

Right at the start, the question of relief was discussed. It was stated that the splendid efforts of Near East Relief workers have prevented in the Levant the formation of savage bands of homeless children such as have become the curse of Russia. On the other hand, it was felt that Near East Relief should be liquidated just as soon as enough money could be collected to bring children in the orphanages to the age of fifteen, or preferably sixteen, when they can earn their own living.

Wealthy people of the oriental countries should shoulder their own local charity organization work from now on. As Americans, we should not relieve governments and sects of carrying on routine social and educational work.

5. Constructive Methods of Work

What we Americans ought to do is, in the first place, to form definite illustrations of progressive forms of work. In the second place, we should train leaders to develop social work and education along modern lines. In the third place, we ought to give subsidies to certain native institutions so as to be able to exercise a constructive supervision over them and thus in a sympathetic way to help them build up progressive work by their own initiative. There must be a growing effort to teach the native workers to do this work themselves, although it may be a long time before they can get along without American help. It is imperative that we should coöperate with native sects and institutions as well as with governments. No work can be of lasting value unless it can be carried on in accord with the government.

The best way to discuss many of the conclusions of the Conference is under the two headings of education and social betterment.

6. Education

Educational work that was started before the War is needed more than ever before. So much is being said about village work and developing institutions for the poor that the members of the Conference feared that the need for higher education might not be given

proper emphasis. Higher education is needed to train leaders. It is also true that the children of the rich demand higher education, which can be used to interest them in coöperating with a program to uplift their peasantry and the poor in their cities. On the other hand, it was felt that too much higher education would breed agitators and encourage emigration. Higher education should be limited. People in the East should be made to pay fees so as to realize its cost. They should also be obliged to uphold as high academic standards as those of the West, so as to avoid superficiality. A little higher education is very important, but the attempt should be to achieve quality rather than quantity.

Furthermore, higher education should be adapted to the needs of the eastern countries and made to contribute to reconstruction after the War. In many places, such branches as hygiene, engineering, industrial chemistry, commerce, and teachers' training are urgently needed.

Junior colleges with vocational courses in agriculture, domestic science and mechanics seem to be much more needed than too many liberal arts colleges, especially in countries which support national universities.

The whole question of agricultural and industrial work was discussed at length. It was felt that this form of education represented a need of the greatest importance and deserved a great deal more study, in order that it might be met in some practical way .

Elementary and high-school education is really the responsibility of the local government. As Americans, we should try to demonstrate certain forms of progressive work and aid the native peoples to improve their primary and secondary schools. We should not try to compete with native efforts in this field of education.

One very important fact was strongly emphasized by the Conference. Certain American schools are being rebuilt after the War. They may develop along traditional academic lines, or they may set out to adapt themselves to new problems, so as to help build up the industrial and agricultural life of their communities. These schools are:

The Athens College
The Sofia-American Schools
The former Anatolia College, now at Salonica
The International College at Smyrna
The American University at Cairo
The Teheran College
The former Central Turkey College, now at Aleppo
The Gerard Institute at Sidon
The American School at Baghdad
The Junior College for Girls at Beirut.

The Survey Committee has an unusual opportunity to help the field-workers formulate a united program and advise these institutions as to how they can best adapt their resources to the needs of their several localities. Action at this psychological moment may prevent duplication, waste, and wrongly directed efforts for years to come.

7. Social Betterment

In the past most of the missionaries have been graduates of theological seminaries. Naturally they have done their best work through the church and the school. As a result of the War, there has arisen an urgent need for other types of work, which will improve conditions in the villages and among the poor of large cities. In many parts of the Near East, agriculture is the most important basis for national life. Unless conditions in the villages can be improved, reconstruction will be impossible.

As members of the Conference studied reports and discussed conditions, they came to the conclusion that much of the benefit of our American relief and educational work will be lost unless it can be supplemented by new efforts to show graduates from schools and orphanages how to improve social conditions and develop better means of production. As the Near East Relief brings its orphanage program to a close and liquidates its organization, it would be very appropriate to have certain experts in America point out how the $100,000,000 relief program can be given permanent value by means of social and economic improvements in those communities where graduates of the orphanages are to live and work.

8. Warnings

In connection with plans for new work in education or social betterment, there are certain warnings, which the Conference wishes to give.

a. *Avoid starting unnecessary new organizations.* Many American agencies are already at work in certain parts of the Levant. In case needs can be met by new forms of work, these added activities should be carried on by existing agencies to as great an extent as possible. A few trained workers in any one organization can supervise a staff of assistants with the least possible expense for overhead. If new organizations are started, new administrators must be trained with extra cost for overhead and management. Thus it is far cheaper to work through existing organizations than to start new ones. Furthermore, it is more efficient, as it obviates the danger of jealousy and duplication. It also prevents untrained workers from trying to start new forms of work, without profiting by the mistakes and experience of workers already on the field. It is most important that too much authority should not be given young Americans who do not

know the native languages or understand relationships with government and religious authorities. Accordingly, new work should be done through existing institutions to the greatest possible extent. For instance, when the Near East Relief liquidates, instead of starting new organizations to safeguard social conditions among graduates of orphanages, this important task might be assigned to the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.

b. *Avoid a superorganization.* The Conference received numerous suggestions that the remarkable orphanage program of the Near East Relief should be followed by a new and united effort to unite those interested in reconstruction in a great association to develop new forms of work. Although the field workers earnestly desire a federation of efforts and the maximum amount of coöperation, both on the field and with their home boards, they emphatically dread any sort of superorganization which will interfere with freedom of action, monopolize control of funds, or permit publicity over which workers on the field will have no control.

c. *The work must not be too American.* As has already been pointed out, there should be enough American supervision to train the people of the country how to develop progressive methods, but we must not arouse jealousy and defeat our own purpose by Americanizing the East. Our aim must be to share with people in the Orient things worth sharing, that they may themselves improve their own institutions and communities.

d. *Avoid haste.* Most of the mistakes of foreigners in the East are due to too great haste. We should build up our own work by a slow, organic growth, as proper workers can be trained and confidence established. New ideas should be thoroughly tried out and adapted, as things helpful to America are often harmful in the East.

e. *Do not spoil the workers for rural work.* A few men and women from the countries of the Near East must be trained very well. In fact, the more thoroughly they are trained, the more likely they will be to catch the spirit of serving backward groups of their people and giving themselves to service. There will only be room for a comparatively few such highly trained men and women in positions of leadership. For social work in villages, the candidate must not be overtrained or spoiled. Our American standards are so high that we are constantly in danger of lifting students to conditions which render them unwilling to live in primitive villages and backward towns. Furthermore, it will not be possible to find men and women of real ability, who will spend time and money to fit themselves for rural work, unless they are assured positions and definite careers. Of course, such assurances would depend upon capable and loyal work. There must be a correlation between training-schools and institutions which carry on social and rural work.

9. Urgent Needs

Every form of reconstruction is needed after the War. The Near East peoples must build up industry, commerce, agriculture, education, public health, and a new social life. If the survey can point out some practical program for coöperation which will meet even one of these needs, it will be justified.

The Constantinople Conference is forwarding the corrected statements of needs to the members of the Survey Committee, so that they can recommend ways and means of meeting the needs which seem most urgent. Entirely apart from the opportunity for evangelistic work, which is outside of the scope of this survey, the needs are overwhelming. Populations have been transplanted and must take root in new soil. New contacts with Europe make necessary new forms of commercial and industrial competition. The limiting of emigration to America demands more productive methods of agriculture to support populations in the East. A popular thirst for education must be met by new schools and practical forms of vocational work. The presence of thousands of orphan children who are earning a precarious living after leaving the Near East Relief orphanages, offers a difficult social problem. A still more difficult problem has been created by the new freedom for Moslem women, which is accompanied by the presence of great armies and a flood of cinemas, dance-halls, liquor cafés and forms of modern literature. At the same time that the bondage of the harem is giving way to freer home life, strong drink, prostitution, and organized vice are on the increase.

The automobile is opening up isolated communities to modern thought. Science is taking hold of the rising generation, undermining faith and tradition. Agnosticism is seizing alike Moslem, Christian, and Jew.

A wave of nationalism has passed through every Near-eastern state, often breaking out into open violence and causing hatred and bloodshed. The period is a very critical one. The need for social, industrial, and spiritual help of a constructive nature is very urgent to enable the eastern people to lay hold on those things in western life which are uplifting and to counteract the license and radicalism which are being bred by our so-called "civilization." It is also true that certain parts of Persia, Kurdistan, and Arabia are still in a primitive state and in great need of pioneer work.

10. Attitude toward America

Three Americans in succession have been asked to direct the refugee settlement work in Greece. Wealthy Greeks have given $400,000 for a new college, which they have placed under the direction of a Robert College professor and an American board of trustees. The

Archbishop of Salonica has coöperated with the Y. M. C. A. to the extent of going to America to raise money for expansion work in Greece. Several of the finest public buildings in Athens have been loaned to the Near East Relief. The Bulgarian government has given timber rights yielding $50,000 to entice the Americans to start a new school at their capital, Sofia.

Turkey has signed a most favorable private treaty with our American High Commissioner at Constantinople, even though the Senate has refused to ratify the Lausanne Treaty. For the first time since Robert College was founded the Turkish government has allowed land title deeds to be permanently registered in the name of the Board of Trustees. Turkish students are flooding American schools, and an American woman has been asked to introduce domestic science into the great normal school at Constantinople.

The Director of the Near East Relief has been asked to serve on the Refugee Settlement Commission in French Syria, and the American people are invited to share in solving this problem. The governments of 'Iraq, Palestine, the Sudan, and Ethiopia are sending students to the American University of Beirut to be trained at government expense. They are closely coöperating with the American University so as to make their government secondary examinations coincide with examinations for college entrance at Beirut. The new Shah of Persia has asked the members of the Millspaugh Commission to act as his financial advisors and Mr. Poland of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad to conduct a survey for his imperial railways. American doctors of the Rockefeller Foundation are closely coöperating with the governments of Turkey and Palestine. Patriarchs of the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Churches have made advances for a closer understanding with churches in America, and the grand Chelabi of the Whirling Dervishes is sending his brother to an American college.

Thus the way is open for America to coöperate with governments and religious sects so as to help them build up a new order after the War. People in the Levant feel that America is the only great power that can help at a time of dire need, without thought of diplomatic intrigue or political exploitation. Whether this conviction is fair to our sister nations or not, at least it is so pronounced that it presents a great challenge to America to meet it in good faith.

11. Coöperation of American Workers

The delegates to the Constantinople Conference studied this matter in a careful and conservative way. At first they felt suspicious of too much coöperation between different forms of work. Unprejudiced study brought them to the conviction that they could coöperate in the closest possible way. They could share in working out a common program, in training workers, entertaining tour-

ists, conducting publicity, and in many other ways. They expressed the desire to hold conferences of field-workers every year or two and to carry on a sort of perpetual survey. They expressed willingness to consult experts about the development of their work as a whole. In fact, they desire to see what might be called an "unreasonable" degree of coöperation on the field.

Although they emphatically do not wish to see the erection of any superorganization in America, they would like to have their various boards appoint representatives who could help to plan for a coöperative program and share the expense of certain phases of campaign and publicity work. The field-workers are anxious to avoid any centralized administration which might impair the individuality of any one institution. What they want is teamwork. They do not desire loss or personal appeal to people in America. Sunday schools and churches should have intimate relationships with the missionaries whom they support. Nothing should keep branches of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. from feeling a direct responsibility to support their foreign work. The colleges should keep alive personal contacts with trustees and special friends.

On the other hand, there might be much more teamwork in raising funds from thousands of people in the forty-eight states who are not special friends or trustees and who do not contribute through Sunday schools, churches or Association branches. No one institution alone could afford to appeal for funds all over the country, but representatives of the Near-eastern institutions collectively might be able to work out some way of developing a joint appeal.

12. Publicity

The saving of lives at times of emergency has often made it necessary to work on an emotional and opportunist basis. Unquestionably, thousands of human lives have been saved from death and demoralization because of the success of urgent publicity. The survey should mark the end of the emergency period. From now on, the work should be carried on in accordance with a constructive program over a long period of years.

Opportunities to raise money at home must not mould the form of the work on the field, but a program must be thought out to meet the real needs, and money should be raised to carry out the program in a consistent way. People on the field would rather have less money and a statesmanlike program than large sums for objects that are not carefully thought out.

Furthermore the members of the Conference wish to emphasize the absolute necessity of avoiding all forms of publicity which will do injustice to any one of the sects or governments with whom they are trying to coöperate.

13. General Recommendation

Although most of the findings of the Conference are of too detailed a nature to mention at this time, the following recommendation is of interest as a general summary:

The countries around the eastern end of the Mediterranean, rich in past contribution to the world's history, have entered upon a new era as a result of the common and bitter experience of the World War. Major changes in territories, shifts in large sections of population, modification in forms of government, the swift current of movement in social and religious ideas —all help to create a present far other than the past, and possibilities of the future rich in promise.

The American public, with unparalleled generosity, has completed a one-hundred-million-dollar relief effort on behalf of the greatest sufferers of the area. It has the satisfaction of seeing thousands being absorbed into the economic life of their communities as effective workers rather than as dependents. And in each country, social and economic conditions are slowly improving. The relief task is done; but reconstruction has only begun. Friendly foreign effort can do much to stimulate, guide, and hasten the commendable efforts of all peoples in the area to rebuild their much damaged social structures.

In each country of the area, Americans long engaged in constructive philanthropic work are finding themselves drawn closer together by common experience and service. Their tasks are not isolated, but are common to the whole area. There has developed, therefore, a desire to work in closer understanding; to share experience, plan, and purpose insofar as they may be related to the district as a whole; to have the benefit of expert counsel that can be had only through a related effort; and to find means for a still greater contribution to the life of Near-eastern lands, which are still the bridge of history between the western world and the no longer sleeping Asia of the East.

We, therefore, believe that the time has come for a degree of coöperation and an application of modern forms of social philanthropy to the lands of the Near East such as has never before been tried in a foreign field. We also believe that public opinion in America would welcome and support such a broad effort for international brotherliness—scientific in method, international in scope, interdenominational in its backing, inter-confessional in its service, making its spiritual contribution more by practice and example of the more abundant life than by direct preaching.

On the above background of thought, the Constantinople Conference presents the following suggested plan. It gratefully recognizes that in large measure the crystallization of this purpose of a larger common service is an outgrowth of the survey work done in the past two years and particularly of the reports of the visiting surveyors from America. It feels that the future possibilities of this suggested plan depend primarily on the spirit and judicial temper of the Committee suggested in Section 4. In matters of personnel for service abroad, publicity in America, mutual counsel for the common task, and sympathetic understanding of individual interests, there

is abundant material for the growth of the will to coöperate. Only by this growth can the spiritual body of this larger fellowship in service be created.

14. Conclusion

Dr. Gates led the closing devotional meeting of the Conference. He chose for his text the words of the prophet: "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, said the Lord of Hosts." These words expressed the final message of the Conference for, to save the peoples of the Near East at this critical turning-point in their history and to reconstruct their social and economic life, the greatest need is not so much for material resources. It is rather for men and women who are ready to spread abroad the idealism of the Master by the contagion of their own lives of service.

APPENDIX C

COÖPERATIVE UNDERTAKINGS

By Barclay Acheson [1]

Objectives

There have been several modifications in the original conception due to the attitude of the leaders of several of the interested bodies. One of the attitudes expressed is that they wish at all costs to avoid anything in the nature of overlordship, dictatorship or a superorganization. For this reason the resolution provides for an unincorporated board, federation or committee composed of duly appointed representatives but without the power to bind the bodies represented to any course of action or any conclusion reached by the federation or committee or council (name undetermined).

It is quite probable that some, particularly the stronger agencies, will feel that there is no gain to them in such a federation. Probably there is no financial gain for a strong organization at the present time. However, there certainly is great gain for the weak institution or agency that has not yet completely found itself. This may be a case of the strong bearing the burdens of the weak. There should be great gain for the people that we are trying to serve in the Near East in that a coördinated work will be more efficient.

It should avoid overlapping and duplication and each institution should develop along specialized lines, thus avoiding an oversupply in one kind of educational work while other departments are ignored. In the long run even the strongest and wealthiest institutions and agencies should profit greatly by this federation because it should prevent bad judgment in the erection of buildings and the development of duplicate institutions and program. A few more mistakes, and discriminating givers of large means will have nothing to do with any of us. Quiet studies have been made by men of enormous wealth that have resulted in a withdrawal of their support from great areas of philanthropy simply because they felt that the investments made were unsound and the programs maintained unadapted to the needs. Even the strongest statesman needs the benefit of

[1] Mr. Acheson was requested to present this matter because as Secretary of the Constantinople Conference he was familiar with the spreading and origin of the scheme. This report, therefore, originates in the Constantinople Conference but has been reviewed and confirmed by the Executive Committee of the Survey Committee.

united counsel, and if there are those who feel that they need no counsel and that they are not likely to make mistakes, even they must protect themselves from the mistakes of others weaker and less efficient than they believe themselves to be, or needed funds will be withheld because of shaken confidence.

Some have asked whether or not it was possible for organizations such as the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and the mission boards that have institutions and activities in many lands to unite in this way with institutions dealing exclusively with the Near East. Others have felt that their peculiar political problems prevent them from joining forces with any evangelical body. It is planned to avoid these hazards by producing a loose federation, thus giving a mechanism for coöperative work without jeopardizing any work by a dictatorial or policy-determining supercommittee. However, it is hoped that, as ways and means are discovered of working together and as advantages are gained and mistakes avoided by this coöperative study and united counsel, the degree of coöperation will increase and the nature of the organization evolve to a more complete federation and unified strategy.

What Might Be Done

Some have asked what could be done. The following are some of the things that might be done.

a. Joint publicity.
b. Joint campaign for funds when desirable.
c. Joint cultivation of tourists.
d. Maintenance of a perpetual survey committee on the foreign field.[2]
e. Centralized purchasing, auditing and accounting.
f. Exchange of personnel.

It seems probable that this suggested organization would evolve into a council composed of the executives and leaders in America and a similarly constituted council on the foreign field, the first dealing with the problems of coöperation in money-raising and administration and the second dealing with problems of coöperation on the foreign field.

2 Experts trained in specialized lines should come to the foreign field from time to time. They should be called in to meet special needs, and it should be understood in advance that there will temporarily be a disproportionate emphasis on this speciality, for specialists who are leaders are also enthusiasts. Every one will benefit, as accentuations of this kind keep us out of ruts and abreast of modern developments.

APPENDIX D

PROPOSED PLANS FOR AMERICAN AGENCIES IN THE NEAR EAST

By Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones

I. Results of the Survey

The Near East survey presents two notable facts: first, that the American agencies in the Near East have rendered a very vital service to the Near East countries; and, second, that the needs of these countries and peoples are still numerous and in some respects drastic. As both of these findings have already been presented at length, it is necessary here only to summarize them.

(1) The American agencies, including colleges, missions, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and the Near East Relief, have contributed in varying degrees to almost every type of need in the Near East countries. The influence of the colleges has naturally been concerned with the preparation of leaders of thought and action. In this important field they command the gratitude of the world for their success. Missions have been concerned with a varied type of needs and their influence may be noted in every country. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. have been primarily concerned with urban areas and they have initiated types of influence that have been and still are much needed. The Near East Relief has faithfully and effectively realized the emergency purposes for which it was created. Speaking generally, it has been inevitable that the primary influence of these organizations has been more largely in the cities and in the coastal areas than in the interior regions. In the regions of their influence they have undoubtedly initiated forces that with the passing of time will achieve vital results throughout the Near East countries. It is no lack of appreciation to stress the great masses of people and the vast areas that as yet have not come within the scope of the American agencies.

(2) The continuing and unmet needs of the Near East countries relate to practically every phase of their life, including health, economic condition, interracial misunderstanding, welfare of women and children, healthful recreation, and the inspiration of religion. While these needs prevail in relation to the total of thirty-three million

people in the Near East countries, they are still more drastically true in relation to the thirty million people who live in the villages and open country of the eight national groups included in the survey. Commonplace as it may be, we cannot too emphatically reiterate the fact that the Near East countries are probably more than any other part of the world the origins of wars and warfare. The situation is now both more hopeful and more acute in its demands in that nationalism in its various forms is asserting its right with unusual vehemence.

II. Plans for the Future

All plans for the future must be directly based on present conditions. So far as the above findings are accepted, it is clear that existing agencies in the Near East must make every possible effort to strengthen their activities and adapt them to the special condition of the Near East peoples. It is equally true that the situation must be explored with a definite purpose of ascertaining the need for any further effort not already provided by existing organizations.

In accordance with this conclusion, the following plans are proposed:

(1) That all American agencies in the future must recognize their sphere as that of influencing national and native organizations, governmental and otherwise, to fulfill the needs of their countries and their peoples. Having in view the thirty-three millions of population, it is inevitable that we shall depend ultimately upon the peoples and resources of the country to perform the major tasks.

(2) That the federation of the Near East agencies now proposed will undoubtedly strengthen the vital services already rendered by these agencies and enable them to adapt their efforts still more effectively to the extensive responsibilities and opportunities open to them.

(3) That the stimulation of rural and industrial education to the thirty million rural and urban peoples of the eight distinct nationalities in the Near East requires an organization whose aims, methods, and personnel are clearly determined by these needs of the Near East. Such an organization would take its place among the other American agencies in the federation and render its special services in well-defined and genuine coöperation for the full development of the Near East countries and peoples.

(4) That continuing work for the education of the masses should be largely through advice and coöperation, working through and subsidizing existing institutions, national and foreign:

a. Winning of Near East governments and leaders of public opinion to a belief in methods and ideals of movements for the masses.

b. Illustrative institutions and activities initiated and maintained with the approval and coöperation of the native and national organizations, governmental and private.

c. Interchange of teachers and workers between America and the Near East.

d. Arranging opportunities for rural service for the graduates of training institutions and assisting these workers in their extension activities in villages and in the rural districts.

In view of the fact that the Near East Relief is now definitely planning to end its relief and emergency work, it seems clear that many of its assets both in the Near East and in America should be conserved for the fulfillment of the vital continuing needs in the villages and open country as they have been so convincingly presented by the Survey Committee.

To this end, it is, therefore, proposed that the Executive Committee of the Near East Relief, in coöperation with the Executive Committee of the Survey Committee, be requested to consider ways and means whereby these assets may be conserved, adapted, and directed to meet the continuing and changing needs presented by the Survey Committee. The Survey Committee respectfully and emphatically urge that the personnel, methods and aims of any continuing work would necessarily differ widely from those that have served so effectively in the relief undertaking.

APPENDIX E

FINAL ACTION TAKEN BY THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE NEAR EAST SURVEY, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 15, 1927

At the final meeting of the full Survey Committee in New York there was discussion of the recommendation approving the financial campaign of Near East Relief, and it was

VOTED, That the following resolution, referring to the approval of the campaign for raising funds for the continuation of the work of Near East Relief, be approved by the Near East Survey Committee:

Recognizing the important life-saving and reconstruction work that has already been done, involving expenditures during the past twelve years of approximately $100,000,000 and the sacrifice of the lives of a score or more of American relief workers, we feel that a proper conservation of this large investment requires continued care of the younger orphaned children and supervision of the older ones until they attain economic self-support and moral stability in the trying environment of the Near East. We, therefore, heartily approve and commend the proposed financial campaign of Near East Relief as a means of providing adequate funds to meet present commitments and to conserve the large and strategic investment that has already been made.

In the discussion of the resolution concerning the publication of the survey material, it was apparent that the members of the Committee were in favor of its publication in two forms, one an unabridged, technical edition for placement in university and research libraries, the other a popular edition for use in the maintenance and increase of interest in the Near East and the work being done there by American agencies. There was doubt as to the possibility of pointing out, in the popular book, defects in the countries studied without giving offense to the nationals thereof. It was suggested that this difficulty might be overcome by obtaining more or less authoritative endorsements from the countries concerned. With the understanding that the only relation Near East Relief would have to whatever was published would be in a financial way, it was

VOTED, That the following resolution, referring to the publication of survey documents, be approved by the Near East Survey Committee:

That the question of putting the survey material in permanent and accessible form and its publication be left in the hands of the Executive

Committee of the Survey Committee, with the understanding that the question of financing will be worked out in coöperation with the Executive Committee of Near East Relief or other sources if deemed expedient.

In the discussion of the resolution concerning coöperation among the various agencies working in the Near East, two changes in wording were made: The word "Council" was substituted for the word "Board," the purpose being to convey in the most satisfactory wording the idea of the agencies working together though at the same time retaining their individual autonomy; and the word "agencies" was substituted for the word "institutions," since it was not the purpose of the resolution to limit membership on the Council only to those organizations that had institutions in the Near East. Attention was called to the coöperative nature of the so-called Correlation Committee on Religious Education and Relations with the Eastern Churches, and it was pointed out that this coöperation represented only one type of work being done while the larger idea of a coöperative council included representation for all types of work. That the workers in the Near East desired to work together more closely was impressed upon the members of the Committee. It was

VOTED, That the following resolution, recommending that those American organizations that are carrying on work in the Near East be invited to organize a council for purposes of coöperation, be adopted by the Near East Survey Committee:

As suggested by the Constantinople Conference, it is recommended that those American organizations that are carrying on work in the Near East, such as the American University of Beirut, the Constantinople Woman's College, Robert College, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the International College of Smyrna, the Sofia American Schools, the American College at Salonica, the Thessalonica Agricultural and Industrial Institute, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., and the Near East Relief, be invited to organize a Council for the purpose of study and discussing problems arising in the planning and conducting of work in the Near East in a coöperative manner. Participation in this Council shall be entirely voluntary and there shall be no understanding that representation in it will commit any of the organizations to definitely adopt its findings.

It is further recommended that the organization of the Council be about as follows:

1. To be informal and not incorporated.
2. To be composed of two members from each of the larger groups, such as the Mission Boards, the Near East College Association, etc., and one member from each of the smaller agencies.
3. That several persons not directly connected with any organization carrying on work in the Near East be asked to serve on the Council. Such

persons should have a real interest in the Near East and be qualified to offer definite assistance.

4. The Council should meet at least once a year, or more often if desired.

5. The Council should be authorized to create standing or special committees.

6. The Council should also be authorized to employ a secretary on part or whole time, if found necessary, and if the expense can be provided.

7. The Council should create a similar group on the field in the Near East to confer possibly once during every year or two years. This group should study conditions, receive reports from different areas, and report back to the Council in New York.

8. The main functions of the Council should be to study conditions, discuss new work planned by different organizations, and seek coöperation in fostering a well-rounded out program of different types of work in the Near East, thus preventing overlapping by the different agencies.

It was further

VOTED, That it be left to the Executive Committee of the Survey Committee to decide how invitations to these different agencies should be arranged for.[1]

The resolution with regard to unmet and continuing needs in the Near East was discussed briefly, and it was then

VOTED, That the following resolution, referring to ways and means by which unmet and continuing needs in the Near East reported by the Survey Committee may be met, be adopted by the Near East Survey Committee:

That, in view of the facts reported by the survey, particularly those pertaining to unmet and continuing needs, especially unmet needs in the field of vocational education, including agricultural, industrial and other similar types of education, the Executive Committee of the Near East Relief be requested, in consultation with the Executive Committee of the Survey Committee, to consider ways and means by which these needs may be met in so far as it is possible to do so through demonstration centers and the training of special or community leadership.[2] The Survey Committee respectfully urges that the personnel, methods, and aims of any continuing work would necessarily differ widely from those that have served so effectively in the relief undertaking.

1 The first development in this direction is the establishment of a committee under the direction of Dr. Robert E. Speer and Dr. W. C. Emhardt.

2 This program is being worked out by a committee under the leadership of Mr. Cleveland E. Dodge.

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